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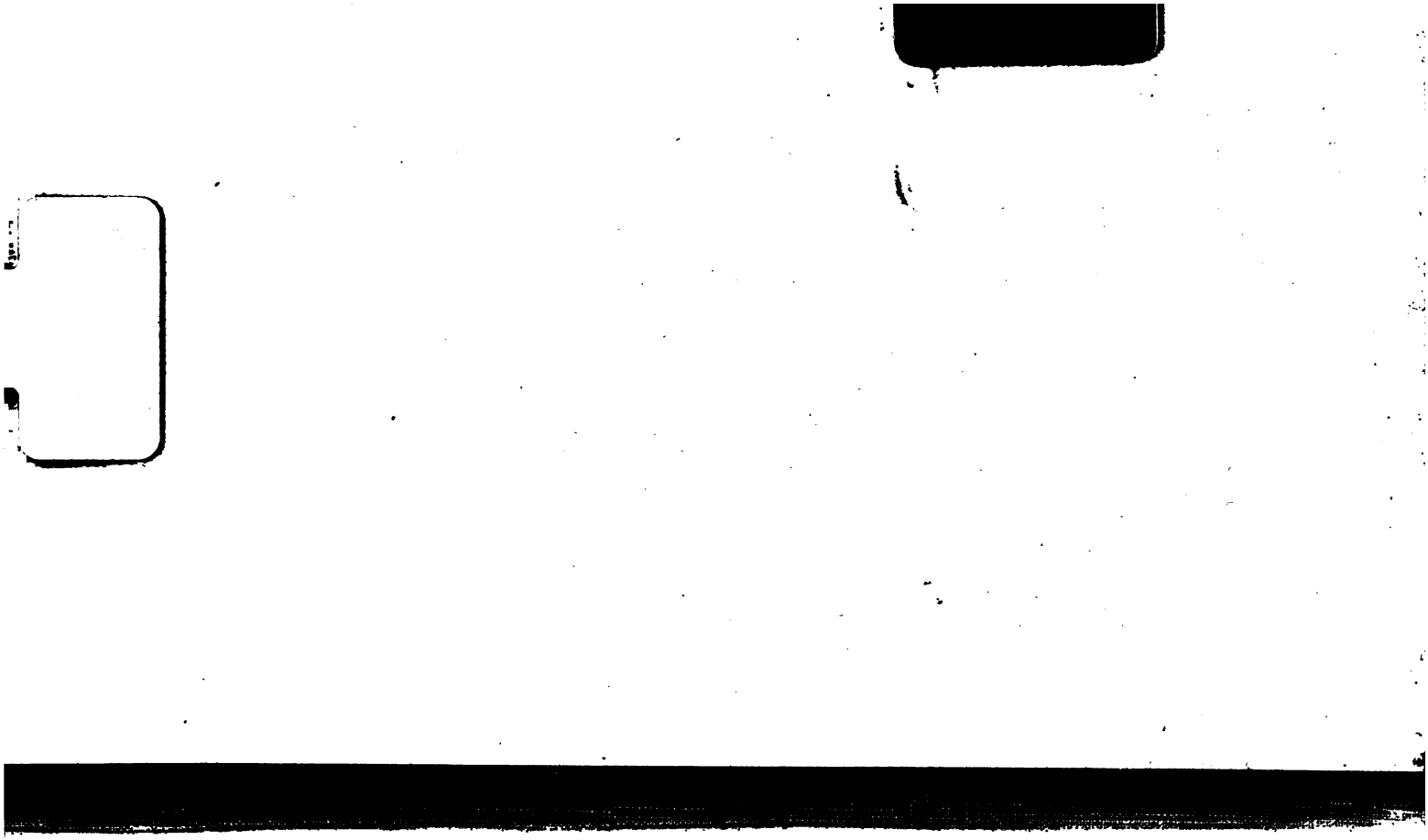

BTXA

D. Sheldon jr

TRAVELS

IN

POLAND, RUSSIA, SWEDEN,

AND

DENMARK;

ILLUSTRATED WITH CHARTS AND ENGRAVINGS.

BY

WILLIAM COXE, A. M. F. R. S. F. A. S.

RECTOR OF BEMERTON.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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THE FIFTH EDITION.

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MY LORD,

AS the advantages, which I enjoyed from accompanying your Lordſhip on your travels, enabled me to collect materials for this work, it cannot be inſcribed to any other perſon, with ſo much propriety, as to your Lordſhip. You, I flatter myſelf, will recollect with pleaſure the reſult of thoſe inquiries to which you were particu-

larly attentive; and I am happy in this public opportunity of expreſſing my grateful ſenſe of your Lordſhip's friendſhip and patronage.

I have the honour to be,

MY LORD,

YOUR LORDSHIP'S

Much obliged,

And obedient

Humble Servant,

WILLIAM COXE.

Bemerton, Jan. 1, 1802.

NEW YORK PUBLIC LIBRARY

PREFACE

TO THE FIRST EDITION OF 1784.

THESE volumes contain the reſult of that intelligence which I collected, and thoſe obſervations which occurred, during my travels through the northern kingdoms of Europe; and I think it my duty to ſtate my authorities.

In regard to Poland, I was honoured with information from perſons of the higheſt rank and authority; and fortunately obtained poſſeſſion of ſome original letters written from Warſaw, before and during the Partition, which have enabled me to throw a conſiderable light over that intereſting period. I preſume, therefore, that the account of Poland comprehends many particulars, which have not been hitherto preſented to the public.

With reſpect to Ruſſia, as the Empreſs herſelf deigned to anſwer ſome queries relative to the ſtate of the public priſons*; this gracious condeſcenſion in ſo great a ſovereign could not but facilitate my further inquiries.

To this I muſt add, that the late celebrated hiſtorian, Mr. Muller, favoured me with various communications on ſome of the moſt important and intricate parts of the Ruſſian annals; and pointed out to me the moſt approved writers on that empire.

The nature of the Swediſh government rendered the ſources of information eaſy of acceſs; and, ſince my return to England, ſeveral Swediſh gentlemen, well verſed in the conſtitution of their country, have ſupplied much additional intelligence.

* See vol. III. p. 132.

As the materials which I acquired in Denmark were leſs extenſive than thoſe collected in the other parts, the account of that kingdom is confined to thoſe circumſtances which I was able to aſcertain; it being my invariable reſolution never to adopt uncertain accounts, but to adhere ſolely to thoſe facts which appeared to be derived from the moſt unqueſtionable authorities.

In the hiſtorical relations, I had recourſe to many Engliſh and foreign authors, particularly to ſeveral German writers of unimpeached veracity, who were reſident for a conſiderable time in ſome of the Northern kingdoms, and from whom I have drawn many anecdotes not known to the Engliſh reader.

Throughout this work, I have ſcrupulouſly cited the authors whom I have conſulted; and have ſubjoined a liſt of the principal books employed on this occaſion, with an explanation of the references by which they are diſtinguiſhed.

I cannot cloſe this preface without expreſſing my obligations to Mr. Wraxall, Mr. Pennant, and Dr. Pulteney, for their reſpective aſſiſtance, acknowledged in the courſe of the work. General Floyd alſo claims my ſincereſt thanks for communicating his accurate Journal of our Tour; to whoſe obſervations and deſcriptions, beſides the extracts in the following pages, I gratefully confeſs myſelf indebted for many intereſting particulars.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FOURTH EDITION OF 1792.

THE Author publiſhed the firſt edition of this work in 1784; and the favourable manner in which the public received it, induced him to give another volume, including a continuation of thoſe obſervations, which a ſubſequent journey into the northern kingdoms of Europe, in 1784 and 1785, enabled him to make; more particularly an account of thoſe countries which he did not viſit in his former tour; namely, Jutland, Norway, Livonia, and Courland. He was likewiſe enabled to make conſiderable additions to the account of Denmark.

In the preſent edition, thoſe parts which relate to the ſame ſubject have been thrown together, and the remaining chapters of the additional volume arranged in as connected a manner as the nature of the work would admit.

ADVERTISEMENT

TO THE FIFTH EDITION.

I do not deliver the fifth edition of this work to the public without the moſt grateful recollection of its favourable reception, both in this and in foreign countries, and with a conſcious ſatisfaction, that, although it was the firſt ſyſtematic account of the northern kingdoms, no material error has been diſcovered. In preparing it for the preſs, I have omitted no opportunity to correct inaccuracies, and to ſupply ſuch additional information as was requiſite to elucidate the final diviſion of Poland, and the other great changes which have taken place in the northern kingdoms. I have added an account of the death of Catharine the Second, and intereſting anecdotes of the amiable and unfortunate Staniſlaus, of Prince Orlof, Prince Potemkin, and Marſhal Suwarof. I have alſo given farther obſervations on the Britiſh trade with Ruſſia, and, in all caſes where I could procure accurate information, have brought down the ſtatements of the finances and population to the preſent time.

By the deaths of many perſons from whom I received information, I now have it in my power to diſcloſe many reſpectable authorities, which delicacy prevented me from quoting in my former editions. The king of Poland himſelf condeſcended to impart much ſecret intelligence, and ordered a gentleman, verſed in the hiſtory and laws of Poland, to communicate all the information which I required on that complicated form

of

of government. Hence I was enabled to give a more accurate and detailed account of the hiſtory and conſtitution of Poland, than had ever before been preſented to the public. I was likewiſe indebted to Count Stackelberg, Ruſſian embaſſador at Warſaw, from the time of the firſt Partition to my ſecond viſit in 1785, for various anecdotes relative to that and ſubſequent events. Alſo to Sir Thomas Wroughton, Britiſh conſul at St. Peterſburgh at the time of the Revolution, envoy at Warſaw during the Partition, and finally miniſter at the court of Stockholm. Count Solmes, Pruſſian miniſter at the court of Peterſburgh, read to me a narrative of the principal events of the life and reign of Catharine the Second, which he had collected during a reſidence of twenty years, and from which I was enabled to throw great light on the Hiſtory of the Revolution, and of Prince Ivan.

The reader will find other authorities reſpecting particular anecdotes, interſperſed throughout the work, which, from motives of prudence, I could not diſcloſe in the former editions.

Bemerton, Jan. 1, 1802.

IN the former editions of this work I reduced the Ruſſian money to the Engliſh ſtandard, and eſtimated a rouble at 4*s.* or five to a pound ſterling; which, in 1778, was nearly its average value. When Peter the Great reformed the coinage, he propoſed making the value of a rouble equal to a rix-dollar, or about 4*s.* 6*d.*; at which rate, with a ſmall fluctuation owing to accidental circumſtances, it continued till the commencement of the Turkiſh war in 1770. Since that period the alteration of the coin reduced the intrinſic value, as tried in the mint of London, to 3*s.* 2*d.* The exceſs of the imports above the exports, the number of remittances neceſſary for the payment of the troops employed againſt the Turks, and the great quantity of paper money in circulation, have ſtill farther contributed to diminiſh the value of the rouble in exchange with foreign countries; and it has been more than once ſo low as 2*s.* 4½*d.* Its preſent value is 2*s.* 6*d.*

Bemerton, Jan. 1, 1802.

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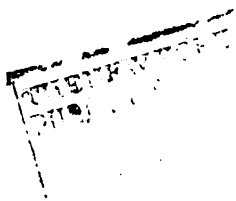

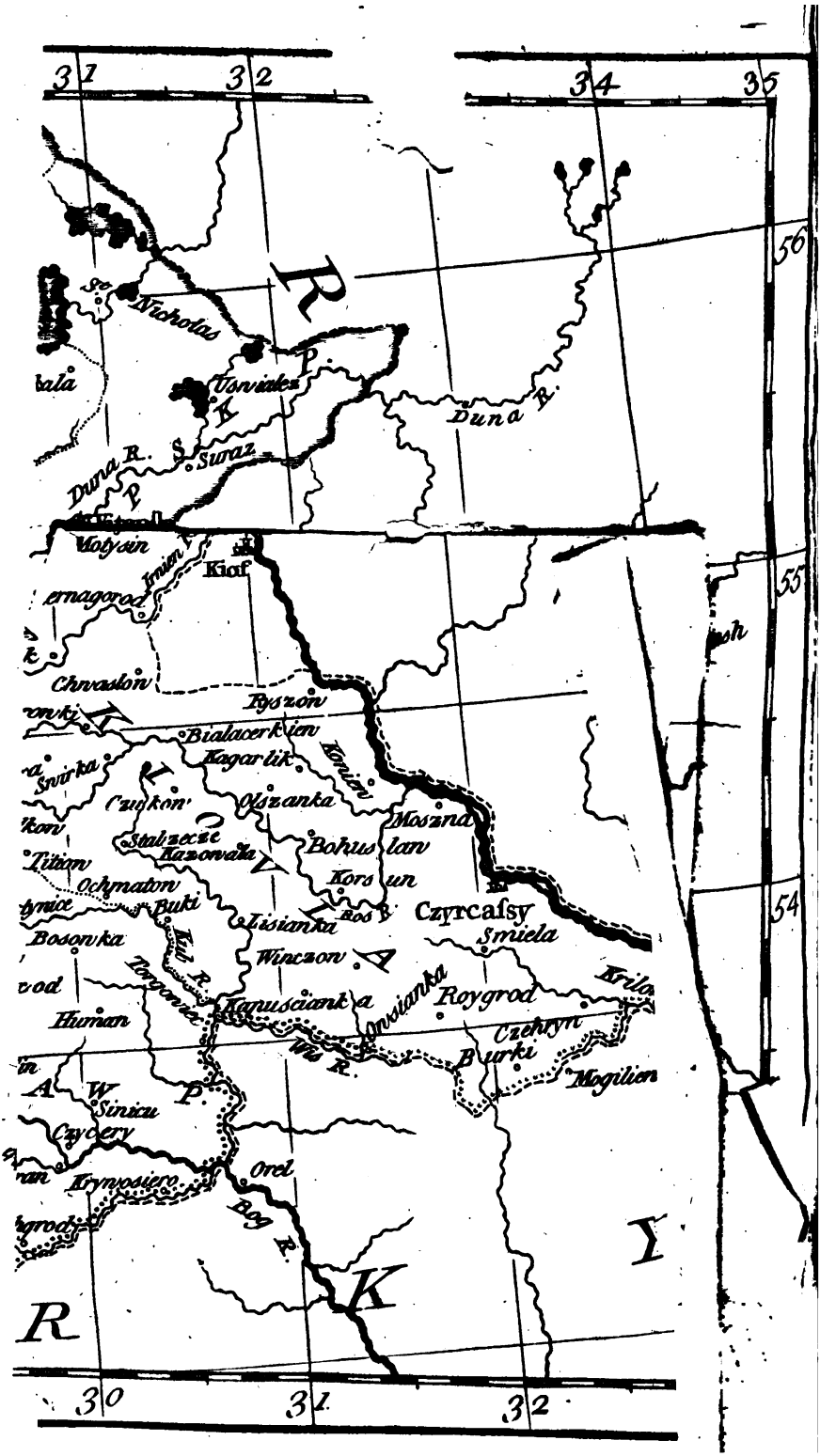

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TRAVELS

IN

POLAND.

HISTORY AND GOVERNMENT.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Reſearches into the origin and progreſs of the Poliſh government.—Inquiry into the cauſes of the gradual diminution of royal prerogative, and eſtabliſhment of an elective monarchy.—Licentious power and conduct of the nobles.—Bad effects of ariſtocratical authority.

IT is difficult to inveſtigate in any country the origin and progreſs of its conſtitution; becauſe the beginning of all hiſtory is involved in obſcurity, and becauſe that body of laws and uſages, which forms the eſſence of every government, is not created in a particular period, or by a ſingle event, but generally reſults from a ſeries of circumſtances which cannot be ſeparately diſcriminated. In Poland, however, the political obſerver has this ſingular advantage; the various occurrences from which the extraordi-

nary form of government was gradually derived, have been developed by a ſucceſſion of accurate hiſtorians *, ſome of whom flouriſhed ſoon after the æra when the moſt important articles of the conſtitution were eſtabliſhed. By means of their authentic narratives we are enabled to trace, by what means a monarchy once nearly abſolute, ſunk, in the courſe of a few centuries, without any depoſition of the prince or violent convulſion, into a ſtate of almoſt total ariſtocracy.

A brief inquiry into the principal incidents which produced this remarkable conſtitution, accompanied by ſuch political reflexions as the progreſs of the detail ſuggeſts, will properly introduce a view of Poland in its preſent ſtate.

The ſovereigns of Poland are uſually ranged in four claſſes or periods:

1. Of the houſe of Leſko. 2. Of Piaſt. 3. Of Jaghellon. 4. Of different families.

1. As the firſt † period is allowed to be fabulous, the beſt Poliſh hiſtorians uſually commence their narratives at the ſecond æra.

2. The

* Dlugoſſius, the father of Poliſh hiſtory, was born in 1415, only 45 years after the demiſe of Caſimir the Great, from whoſe reign Poland dates her written laws. He begins his hiſtory from the earlieſt period of the Poliſh annals, and carries it down to the year 1480.

† The fabulous ſtory of Leſko II. is as follows: Upon the death of Leſko I. duke of Poland, a race was appointed on horſeback, and the victor was to be nominated ſovereign. Leſzec, one of the

2. The early part even of this epoch has an air of romance; and the account of Piaſt, who gave his name to a line of kings, and from whom all the natives of Poland who have aſcended the throne are called Piaſt, is a ſeries of fictions. By ſome, he is ſaid to have been a wheelwright, by others, a common peaſant, and by all, to have gained the crown through the viſible interpoſition of two angels. Nor indeed can we expect any faithful accounts of a people buried in barbariſm, wholly without letters, and immerſed in Pagan ſuperſtition. We cannot therefore date the authenticity of the Poliſh annals earlier than the acceſſion of Miciſlaus II. the fourth ſovereign of the line of Piaſt, in 964. From his reign Poland began to be connected with Germany; the hiſtorians of which country, as well as thoſe of Sweden and Denmark, throw a conſiderable light upon Poliſh affairs before the exiſtence of native hiſtorians.

According to ſome writers, during the whole of the ſecond period the monarchy was elective, and

candidates, in order to ſecure the victory, ſtrewed part of the courſe with nails, leaving a clear paſſage for his own horſe. This ſtratagem was diſcovered by another of the candidates, and made known to the people: the latter roſe, maſſacred Leſzec, and proclaimed the other duke, who aſſumed the name of Leſko II. The æra in which this Leſko reigned is ſo uncertain, that ſome hiſtorians refer it to the 6th, others to the 7th, and even to the 8th century.

and the ſovereign power limited; according to others the crown was hereditary, and its authority abſolute. But this difference of opinion may be eaſily reconciled; the crown ſeemed hereditary from its continuance in the ſame family; but had an elective appearance, becauſe, on the death of the king, his ſucceſſor was formally * nominated and recognized in an aſſembly of the nobility and clergy of the realm. With reſpect to the extent of the king's authority, his power, as in the generality of feudal governments, when exerciſed by an able and enterpriſing prince, triumphed over all controul; but, in the hands of a weak ſovereign, was eaſily reſtricted by the aſcendancy of a licentious and warlike nobility.

Towards the cloſe of this ſecond period, 1347, Caſimir the Great reſtrained the turbulence of the principal barons, and granted certain immunities to the nobles and gentry. This great monarch was aware, that no other expedient could introduce order into this kingdom, than a limitation of the vaſt influence poſſeſſed by the † Palatines or principal nobility; and had he been ſucceeded by a line of hereditary monarchs, probably the barons would not have re-

* Lengnich, Jus Publicum Regni Poloniæ, v. I. p. 48.

† Palatinorum et judicum infinita poteſtas coercita eſt, &c. Sarnicius, p. 1141.

covered

covered their former aſcendancy, and the feudal ſyſtem would have been gradually annihilated in Poland, as in other countries of Europe.

But his nephew and ſucceſſor Louis, king of Hungary, being a foreigner, was obliged to ratify certain conditions, which circumſcribed the prerogative of the crown, and increaſed the power of the barons and inferior nobles. He agreed that no taxes ſhould be impoſed without the conſent of the nation; and that in caſe of his demiſe without male heirs, the privilege of appointing a ſovereign ſhould revert to the body of nobles*. In conſequence of this agreement, Louis aſcended the throne without oppoſition, and having no ſons, ſecured the ſucceſſion to his ſon-in-law the Emperor Sigiſmond, married to his eldeſt daughter Maria, by promiſing to diminiſh the taxes, repair the fortreſſes at his own expence, and confer no dignities or offices upon foreigners†.

3. The third period begins upon the death of Louis, 1382, when the Poles politically ſet aſide Sigiſmond, who would have been formidable to their newly-acquired immunities, and raiſed to the throne Ladiſlaus Jaghellon duke of Lithuania, who confirmed all the ſtipulations of Louis,

* Dlugoſſius, Lib. IX. p. 1102, &c.
† See Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. Pref. p. 5.

and eſpouſed Hedwige, youngeſt daughter of the deceaſed monarch.

By the renunciation of Louis, the kings of Poland being diveſted of the right to impoſe taxes without the conſent of the nation, Ladiſlaus aſſembled the nobles * in their reſpective provinces to obtain an additional tribute. Theſe provincial aſſemblies gave birth to the dietines, which, however, no longer retain the power of raiſing money, but only elect the nuntios or repreſentatives for the general diet.

Ladiſlaus III. ſon of Ladiſlaus Jaghellon, purchaſed his nomination to the ſucceſſion, during the life of his father, by a confirmation of all the privileges above enumerated, which he ſolemnly ratified at his acceſſion.

Under Caſimir III. † his brother and ſucceſſor, further innovations unfavourable to regal prerogative were introduced. One of the principal changes in this reign, which laid the foundation of ſtill more important revolutions in the Poliſh government, was the convention of a national diet inveſted with the ſole power of granting ſupplies. Each Palatinate or province was permitted to ſend to this general diet, beſide the Palatines and other principal barons, a certain

* Prelatorum, Baronum et Militarium. Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. II. p. 35.

† Sometimes called Caſimir IV.

number.

number of nuntios or repreſentatives, choſen by the nobles and burghers*. This reign is therefore conſidered by the popular party as the æra, at which the freedom of the conſtitution was permanently eſtabliſhed. Caſimir being engaged in unſucceſsful wars, which exhauſted the royal treaſures, was under the neceſſity of applying repeatedly to the diet for ſubſidies; almoſt every ſupply was accompanied with a liſt of grievances, and produced a ſtill further diminution of the prerogative. In Poland, as in all feudal governments, the barons, at the head of their vaſſals, are bound to fight in defence of the kingdom: before the reign of Caſimir III. the king could require ſuch military ſervices; but this monarch, in compenſation for a pecuniary aid, renounced † the power of ſummoning the nobles to his ſtandard, and even agreed not to enact laws without the concurrence of the national diet.

John Albert, ſecond ſon of Caſimir, being elected in preference to his elder brother Ladiſlaus, king of Hungary and Bohemia, aſſented, without heſitation, to all the immunities extort-

* See Chap. 8. for proof that the burghers were permitted to ſend repreſentatives.

† Quod nullas conſtitutiones faceret, neque terrigenas ad bellum moveri mandaret, abſque conventione communi in ſingulis terris inſtituendâ. Conſt. Pol. v. I. p. 186.

ed from his predeceſſors, and ſwore to their obſervance in a general * diet held at Petrikau, 1469.

Alexander, his brother and ſucceſſor declared, in 1505, the following limitations of ſovereign authority to be fundamental laws of the kingdom: the king cannot impoſe taxes; nor require the feudal ſervices; nor alienate the royal domains; nor enact laws; nor coin money; nor alter the proceſs in the courts of juſtice.

Sigiſmond I. ſucceeded Alexander; a Poliſh hiſtorian † ſpeaking of his reign, exclaims with much indignation, "The king is almoſt deſtitute of power, he cannot procure any ſubſidy on the moſt preſſing emergency, for carrying on war, or for the portion of his daughters, without increaſing the privileges of the nobility." Notwithſtanding, however, this exclamation, we cannot forbear remarking that the power of levying taxes at diſcretion is the moſt formidable engine of deſpotic authority: the acquiſition of it by the monarchs of France finally ſubverted the liberties of that kingdom; and it was made the firſt object of reſiſtance by the aſſertors of freedom in our own country. If indeed we were inclined to point out any particular period, at which the Poliſh conſtitution attained its moſt perfect ſtate, we ſhould perhaps fix on the reign of Sigiſmond I.

* Conſt. Pol. v. I. p. 294. † Orichovius.

when

when the perſon and property of the ſubject were ſecured by ample proviſions, and the crown ſtill retained conſiderable influence. But the time was arrived, when an inordinate paſſion for liberty led the nobles to render the throne wholly elective, and at each election to continue their encroachments upon the regal authority, until the king was reduced to a mere pageant. The firſt public attempt towards eſtabliſhing this favourite object, a free election of the king, was brought forward in the reign of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, ſon and ſucceſſor of Sigiſmond the Firſt, who was conſtrained, in 1550, to agree, that no future monarch ſhould ſucceed to the throne unleſs freely elected by the nation.

The death of Sigiſmond Auguſtus without iſſue gave efficacy to this conceſſion, which might otherwiſe have been counteracted by the popularity and influence of a claimant by hereditary ſucceſſion. For during the Jaghellon line, the ſovereigns, although formally raiſed to the throne by the conſent of the nation, ſtill reſted their pretenſions upon hereditary right, as well as upon this conſent, always ſtyling themſelves *heirs* of the kingdom of Poland. Sigiſmond Auguſtus, in whom the male line of the Jaghellon family became extinct, was the laſt who bore that title*.

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 59.

4. The

4. The fourth period commences from the demiſe of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, in 1572, when all title to the crown from hereditary right was formally abrogated, and abſolute freedom of election eſtabliſhed. At this æra, a charter of immunities was drawn up at a general diet, to be ratified by the new ſovereign before his election. The ground-work of this charter, termed in the Poliſh law *Pacta Conventa*, was the whole body of privileges obtained from Louis and his ſucceſſors, with theſe additions; 1. the king to be elective, and his ſucceſſor never to be appointed during his life; 2. the diets to be aſſembled every two years; 3. every * noble or gentleman in the whole realm to have a vote in the diet of election; 4. ſhould the king infringe the laws and privileges of the nation, his ſubjects were abſolved from their oaths of allegiance. From this period the *Pacta Conventa*, occaſionally enlarged, have been confirmed by every ſovereign at his coronation.

Henry of Valois, duke of Anjou and brother of Charles IX. king of France, ſecured his election, as well by private bribes to the nobles, as by promiſing an annual penſion to the Republic from the revenues of France. His example was followed by each ſucceeding ſovereign, who, beſide an unconditional ratification of the *Pacta Conventa*, has always purchaſed the crown by a

* See the definition of a Noble, Chap. 8.

publie

public largeſs and by private corruption, circumſtances which endear an elective monarchy to the Poles.

Under Stephen Bathori, the regal power was further circumſcribed by the appointment of ſixteen reſident ſenators choſen at each diet, to attend the king, and to give their opinion in all matters of importance, which prevented him from iſſuing any decree without their conſent*. Another fatal blow was alſo given to the prerogative in 1578, by annihilating the ſupreme juriſdiction, or the power of judging in the laſt reſort the cauſes of the nobles, excepting ſuch as ariſe within a ſmall diſtance † of the royal reſidence. It was enacted, that without the concurrence of the king each palatinate or province ſhould elect in their dietines their own judges, who ſhould form ſupreme courts of juſtice, called *Tribunalia Regni*‡, and that in theſe courts the cauſes of the nobles ſhould be decided finally and without appeal, a mode of judicature which prevails to this day.

* This appointment was made in 1573, under Henry, but did not take place till the reign of Stephen. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 344. II. 44.

† The courts exerciſing juſtice in the king's name within the diſtrict are called Aſſeſſoria Regni. Until the death of John Sobieſki, the kings judged frequently in perſon, but this ceaſed to be the cuſtom from the time of Auguſtus II. and the Great Chancellor now exerciſes, in his Majeſty's name, that branch of royal prerogative.

‡ Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 536.

The

The turbulent reign of John Caſimir was marked by the introduction of the *Liberum Veto**, or the power which each nuntio claims or exerciſes of interpoſing a negative, and, in conſequence of that interpoſition, of breaking up the diet; a privilege which the ſovereign himſelf does not poſſeſs, and which has principally contributed to deſtroy the true balance of the Poliſh conſtitution.

But the king was ſtill the fountain of honour; he conferred the principal dignities and great offices of the republic, and beſtowed the Staroſties, or Royal fiefs, which are held during the lifetime of the poſſeſſor. Hence he ſtill maintained great influence in the councils of the nation; but this laſt ſolitary branch of royal prerogative was wreſted from the crown at the eſtabliſhment of the Permanent Council in 1773†.

Thus it appears, that, from the time of Louis to the preſent period, the nobles have continued to diminiſh the regal authority, and to augment their own privileges. Many of the conceſſions which they obtained from the ſovereigns of the Jaghellon line, were juſt and reaſonable, and tended only to eſtabliſh an equitable degree of freedom. When, however, an abſolute right to diſpoſe of the crown gave repeated opportunities of preſcribing unconditional terms to every candi-

* For an account of the Liberum Veto, ſee Chap. 6.

† See Chap. 5.

date

date for the throne, they were no longer content with that equal diſtribution of power, which is the excellence of a limited monarchy, but aſpired to, and nearly attained, a direct ariſtocracy under a regal form.

From this general review of the revolutions in the conſtitution of Poland, we may infer, that, notwithſtanding their boaſted liberty, the Poles are by no means free. Indeed their hiſtorians, however they may differ in other points, unanimouſly agree in reprobating their affectation of liberty, the ſhadow rather than the reality of freedom, which is in fact merely a turbulent ſyſtem of ariſtocratic licentiouſneſs, where a few members of the community are above the controul of law, and the majority excluded from its protection. We ſhould ſuppoſe, that, if in any inſtance they were free, it would be in the election of a king, one of their moſt vaunted privileges; yet Sarniſki addreſſes the Poles with great truth in the following words: "Turn over your annals, and you will ſcarcely find a ſingle example of a free election *." Another Poliſh hiſtorian, the celebrated Staniſlaus Lubieniſki biſhop of Plotſko, juſtly contends that the Poles, free as they pretend to be, are abſolutely in a ſtate of ſlavery, to which they have been reduced by an inconſiderate paſ-

* Revolvite annales veſtros, vix ullum exemplum liberæ electionis invenietis.

ſion

ſion for liberty *. In a word, it is evident from the hiſtory of this country, that the Poles were more free at home, and more independent and flouriſhing abroad, when the ſovereign had greater authority, when the nobles aſſiſted at the diets without the privilege of diſſolving them, and when they ſubmitted themſelves and their peaſants to the juriſdiction of the king. The proof of this aſſertion is founded on theſe facts:

1. The wretched ſtate of the towns compared with their former flouriſhing condition, during the reigns of the Jaghellon family, when the burghers even poſſeſſed a right of ſending nuntios to the diets†. 2. The miſerable condition of the peaſants, the increaſe of whoſe oppreſſion has correſponded with the increaſe of the power of the nobles; for when the king loſt his weight in the conſtitution, this moſt numerous and uſeful order of ſociety loſt their chief protector. 3. A total confuſion introduced into the adminiſtration of public affairs, and a ſtate of anarchy, which prevents deliberation, and delays the adoption of neceſſary meaſures even in times of the moſt preſſing emergency. 4. The decline of the importance, and diminution of the Poliſh territories.

* Expendamus paululum ſtatum reipublicæ: inconſultus libertatis amor dum iidem leges ferunt, qui pœnis obnoxii ſunt, et impunitatis deſiderio, juris, quo tot ſæculis patria ſtetit, convellunt fundamenta, nos eo redegit *ut liberi peſſimo cuique ſerviamus.* p. 194.

† See Chap. 8.

For

For a kingdom containing near fourteen million inhabitants, if well regulated, would never have fallen an eaſy prey to the ambition of its neighbours; its internal ſtrength, aſſiſted by its natural alliances, would have protracted, if not prevented, the diſmemberment. Nor are the fatal effects of the evils inherent in the conſtitution yet fully exhauſted; the ſame incapacity of reſiſting the encroachments of neighbouring powers, which rendered the Poles paſſive during the late partition, will render them equally ſubmiſſive, when future claims ſhall be urged by a ſimilar combination, and compel them to acquieſce under any pretenſions, however chimerical or unjuſt.

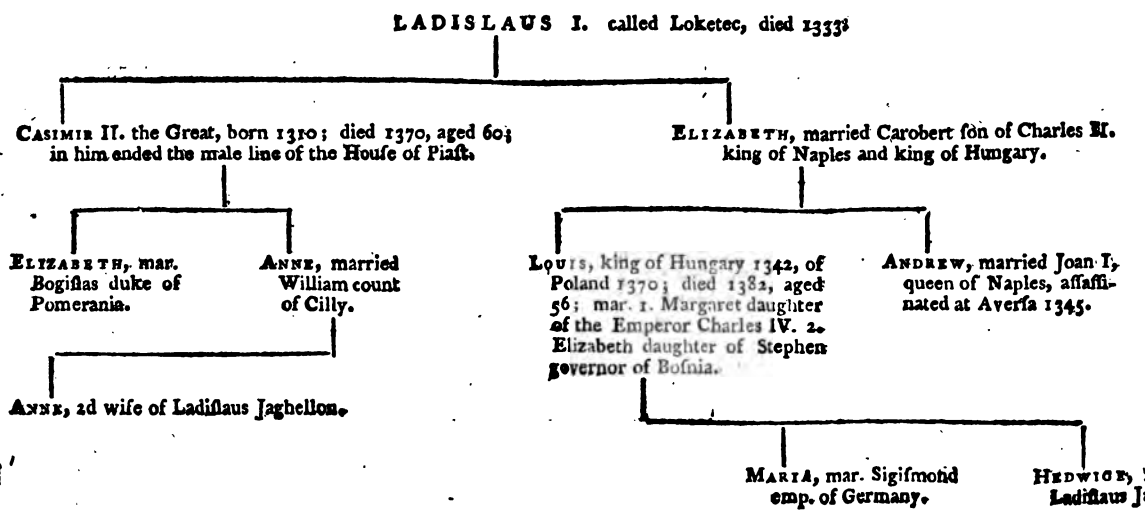
In ſhort, anarchy and confuſion are not only tolerated, but are even ſuppoſed by the nobles to be neceſſary for the ſupport of the conſtitution, in conformity to a national proverb, that "*Poland ſubſiſts by anarchy.*" In oppoſition to this abſurd idea, Sarniſki adviſes his countrymen no longer to ſuffer the republic to be governed by chance, or to ſubmit to the caſt of the die the adminiſtration of affairs, on which their very exiſtence as a nation depends*.

* Non condemnetis (ſays Sarniſki, in the ſtriking paſſage to which I allude, and of which it is impoſſible to preſerve the ſpirit in a tranſlation) quæſo prudentiſſimorum virorum conſilia; nec ſinatis amplius *caſu* rempublicam regi, nec permittatis *dubiæ alteæ* res, in quibus vita et mors, ſalus et interitus, ad limen ſedent.

King

King Staniſlaus Letzinſki and the Abbé Konarſki are the moſt celebrated of the modern Poliſh authors, who have expoſed in the ſtrongeſt colours the diſorders of the government, and the exorbitancy of the privileges poſſeſſed by the nobles: but what avail the repreſentations of hiſtorians againſt factions, againſt a tumultuous nobility, or againſt the cabals of neighbouring powers? Poland, without an army, without money, without fortreſſes, without reſources, and with a defective government, the ſource of all the other calamities, can never emerge from her preſent ſituation. Her misfortunes will gradually increaſe, notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of a few real patriots; until by ſlow progreſs, or ſome violent revolution, Poland ſubſides into an hereditary monarchy, or a well-ordered republic; or, which is more probable, is totally ſwallowed up by the neighbouring powers.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE.



CHAP. 2.

Election of Staniſlaus Auguſtus.—His excellent regulations oppoſed by the neighbouring powers.—Hiſtory of the Diſſidents—their privileges aboliſhed by the diet of 1766.—Confederacies in their favour ſupported by the Empreſs of Ruſſia.—Reſtored to their rights by the diet of 1768.—Proceedings of that diet.—Riſe of the civil commotions.

ON the demiſe of Auguſtus the Third, Staniſlaus Auguſtus*, ſon of Count Poniatowſki the friend and companion of Charles XII. was

* It is well known that Staniſlaus Auguſtus owed his elevation to the tender partiality of Catherine the Second, which commenced during his reſidence at Peterſburg.

He was ſecond ſurviving ſon of count Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, caſtellan of Cracow, by the princeſs Conſtantia Zartoriſki, and educated with great care under the auſpices of his reſpectable father. At an early age he travelled through different parts of Europe; paſſed ſeveral months in England in 1754, where he received the moſt flattering reception from perſons of merit and diſtinction, and improved himſelf in the knowledge of the Engliſh language, conſtitution, and commerce.

Among thoſe with whoſe attentions he was moſt flattered, he always mentioned, in terms of peculiar reſpect and gratitude, lord chancellor Hardwicke, with whoſe family he continued in the ſtricteſt friendſhip, and maintained an uninterrupted correſpondence with the Hon. Charles Yorke and ſir Joſeph Yorke, afterwards Lord Dover.

was ſupported in his pretenſions to the crown by the Empreſs of Ruſſia and the King of Pruſſia, whoſe aſſiſtance,

On his return to Poland, and during his continuance at Dreſden, at the court of his ſovereign Auguſtus the Third, he commenced an acquaintance with ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, then Britiſh envoy at the court of Dreſden, which was eventually the cauſe of his ſubſequent elevation. One of the great parties into which Poland was at that time divided (which was headed by his uncle, prince Zartoriſki, and his father) being favourable to England, a conſtant intercourſe took place between the chiefs and the Britiſh miniſter. The young count was admitted into this intercourſe, and being acquainted with the Engliſh language, and an enthuſiaſtic admirer of Engliſh manners, became the confidential agent between his relatives and the Britiſh miniſter. Though only twenty-three years of age, he appears to have equally enjoyed the confidence of both parties; and many letters in the papers of ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, preſerved at Pontypool Park, in Monmouthſhire, diſplay the political advantage derived from his intervention.

From the accounts diſſeminated by French writers, one might be led to ſuppoſe that the young Staniſlaus followed the Britiſh miniſter to St. Peterſburgh as a needy adventurer, without connections, information, or influence. But it is an undoubted fact, that the great party in Poland, of which his uncle was the head, ſtrongly recommended ſir Charles Hanbury Williams to George the Second, as the fitteſt perſon for the embaſſy to St. Peterſburgh, for his activity, zeal, knowledge of Poliſh affairs, wit, and accompliſhments. After much reluctance, ſir Charles accepted the employment, in obedience to the expreſs commands of his ſovereign.

Count Poniatowſki having rendered himſelf highly ſerviceable in the affairs of Poland, and acquired the full confidence of the Britiſh embaſſador, accompanied him to Peterſburgh as a confidential friend, but was ſecretly charged with the management of Poliſh affairs, under the auſpices of England. In a letter to Mr. Charles

aſſiſtance, ſtrengthened by a party among the nobles, and aided by his great perſonal accompliſhments,

Yorke, dated Peterſburgh, December 17, 1756, he ſpeaks of himſelf as domiciliated in the houſe of ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, and mentions, in the warmeſt terms of gratitude, his confidence and friendſhip, and the political knowledge which he derived from his information. He dwells with peculiar energy on the diſtracted ſtate of Poland, the prevalence of the French party, and the lethargy of Ruſſia; and mentions it as the principal object of his ambition to reſuſcitate the Anglo-Ruſſian party. Through the whole of this letter he evinces his attachment to England, and his fondneſs for Engliſh literature, particularly his adoration of Shakeſpeare.

At the period of his arrival at Peterſburgh, the Great Ducheſs, afterwards Catharine the Second, was in the 25th year of her age, elegant, accompliſhed, animated, and had ſecretly commenced that career of gallantry, which ſhe afterwards did not affect to conceal. Her firſt lover, count Soltikof, had been recently diſmiſſed from court, and the place of a new admirer was ſtill vacant. She was ſmitten with the figure and addreſs of Poniatowſki, and he was no leſs captivated with her charms. An intercourſe was eaſily arranged, in the court of the voluptuous Elizabeth, and the two lovers often met in diſguiſe at the houſe of an Engliſh merchant. This intrigue was of the utmoſt importance to the politics of England, and ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, in ſeveral diſpatches, expatiates on the advantages derived from the influence of the Great Ducheſs.

Poniatowſki was ſoon afterwards appointed Poliſh envoy, and remained at Peterſburgh in his new character. After the departure of ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, in the ſummer of 1757, and the breach of the friendſhip between England and Ruſſia, he continued to be the channel of communication between the Grand Ducheſs and the Britiſh miniſtry.

The Great Duke Peter, who had hitherto connived at the connexion between his conſort and Poniatowſki, became ſuddenly inflamed with jealouſy, and at his earneſt repreſentations, Poniatowſki was commanded to quit Peterſburgh. He retired with regret into Poland, brooding over his chagrin and diſappointment, until the acceſſion

ments, raiſed him in 1764 to the throne. Five thouſand Ruſſian troops ſtationed near the plain of Vola, at the diet of election, ſecured good order, and over-awed the oppoſite party. The practice of cantoning a body of ſoldiers near the plain of election, has been adopted by different foreign powers for near a century; a mode of proceeding, which, however galling it may appear to the licentious nobility, prevents the effuſion of blood that formerly deluged theſe tumultuous aſſemblies.

Staniſlaus was in the 32d year of his age when he aſcended the throne, and ſeemed calculated by his abilities and virtues to raiſe Poland from its deplorable ſtate, had not the defects of the conſtitution fettered his exertions for the public good. The faireſt hopes were conceived of his future reign; but theſe flattering preſages were diſappointed by the factions of a turbulent people, fomented by the intrigues of the neighbouring powers; and the moſt amiable among the Poliſh ſovereigns was doomed to experience the dreadful effects of that exceſſive liberty, which is inconſiſtent

acceſſion of Catharine the Second, when his hopes revived. Though her affections were fixed on Orloff, yet Catharine ſtill retained a high degree of eſteem for her former lover, and raiſed him, on the death of Auguſtus the Third, to the throne of Poland.

This account is principally drawn from the king of Poland's letters to the family of Yorke in the poſſeſſion of the Earl of Hardwicke, and from the papers of ſir Charles Hanbury Williams, preſerved at C. H. Leigh's, Eſq. at Pontypool Park, Monmouthſhire. See Tour in Monmouthſhire, chap. 25 and 29.

Sigiſmond

ſiſtent with the exiſtence of a well-regulated government. The firſt acts of his reign were adapted to introduce order into the interior adminiſtration, and reſcue his country from her dependence upon foreign powers. The tendency of theſe excellent regulations to increaſe the power and conſequence of the nation gave umbrage to the adjacent ſtates, and were vigorouſly oppoſed by a ſtrong party within the kingdom: at this criſis too, religious diſputes blending with political cabals, the flame of civil diſcord burſt forth with a violence which had not hitherto raged even in Poland.

The body of Poliſh religioniſts, termed Diſſidents, make a principal figure in the ſubſequent commotions; their concerns being the real or pretended object of attention in every material tranſaction. The hiſtory of this party is thus ſketched by the Poliſh hiſtorians:

The reformation was introduced in the reign of Sigiſmond I. who perſecuted its followers: their number however gaining ground, his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus * not only indulged them in the liberal exerciſe of their worſhip, but admitted them, together with the Greeks, and all other ſects then

* Sigiſmond Auguſtus gave evident marks of favour to the proteſtant confeſſion, and was even ſuſpected of an inclination to change his religion, "ut etiam de ipſo rumor eſſet ac ſi avita ſacra renuntiare vellet." Lengnich, Jus Publ. II. p. 554.

ſubſiſting

ſubſiſting in Poland, to a ſeat in the diet, and to all the honours and privileges hitherto confined to the catholics. Theſe maxims of unlimited toleration were generally adopted by the nation, and the members of the diet, which aſſembled upon the deceaſe of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, being of different perſuaſions, determined on a reciprocal indulgence of their reſpective tenets*. To avoid invidious diſtinctions, they ſtyled themſelves indiſcriminately "diſſidents in religion," a phraſe intimating, not, according to our notions, ſeparatiſts from an eſtabliſhed church, but perſons holding different opinions in religious matters. It was at the ſame time enacted, that this difference of religious ſentiments ſhould create no difference in civil rights; and accordingly in the *Pacta Conventa* formed by the diet, a clauſe was inſerted as part of the coronation oath: "I will keep peace among the diſſidents†." Henry, who objected to this univerſal toleration, withheld his conſent, till one of the Poliſh envoys exclaimed, "Unleſs you

* We need not be ſurprized at this general ſenſe of the diet, ſo contrary to the general principles of the catholics, when we conſider that the catholic nuntios being inferior in number to thoſe of the other perſuaſions, were well ſatisfied to obtain an equality with the others. The proteſtant party in the nation was at this period ſo ſtrong, that it was even taken into conſideration to elect for king a Poliſh nobleman, who had embraced the reformed religion. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 555. See alſo Lind's Letters on the State of Poland, p. 82.

† Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 19.

confirm

confirm this article, you cannot be king of Poland;" he accordingly took an oath to obſerve this clauſe, before he was permitted to aſcend the throne.

In proceſs of time, the Roman catholics having acquired a conſiderable aſcendency, ventured to apply the expreſſion of diſſidents to all thoſe who diſſented from the catholic religion. This reſtriction was attended at firſt with no encroachments on the privileges of the other ſects; and the term diſſidents was not yet regarded in an obnoxious light. The diſſidents indeed ſtill continued in ſuch unqueſtioned poſſeſſion of all rights civil and religious, that, when it was agreed by both catholics and proteſtants to perſecute the arians, it was thought previouſly neceſſary to expel them from the body of diſſidents. In conſequence of this excluſion, the arians, in the reign of John Caſimir, were firſt rendered incapable of being elected nuntios, afterwards deprived of their places of worſhip, and finally baniſhed*.

This perſecution, inadvertently aſſented to by the proteſtants and Greeks, was a prelude to that which they ſuffered; for, as the catholic party predominated, the term diſſidents, at firſt confined

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. II. 567.

to

to perſons profeſſing the proteſtant * and Greek religions, became of a leſs inoffenſive import, and conveyed an idea of non-conformity. The ſectaries, accordingly, who were ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of diſſidents, perceiving the intention of the catholics to undermine their privileges, obtained a declaration that they ſhould not be blended with, and be obnoxious to the penal laws enacted againſt the Arians. But theſe promiſes were inſenſibly eluded; their privileges were gradually diminiſhed; in the courſe of a few years they were ſubjected to a variety of diſqualifications, and at length, in 1733, formally incapacitated from ſitting in the diet †. A law of Ladiſlaus II. againſt heretics, as well as the penalties againſt the Arians, were revived, and occaſionally extended to the diſſidents.

Theſe continual perſecutions greatly diminiſhed their number, and rendered their remonſtrances ineffectual; the catholics, who took the lead in the diet, even declared it high treaſon to ſeek the reſtoration of their immunities by the interceſſion of foreign powers, in direct contradiction

* Namely, the Lutherans and Calviniſts; all other proteſtant ſects, the Memnonites, anabaptiſts, and quakers, being not included among the diſſidents: and the perſecuting laws enacted againſt the Arians are in full force againſt them. Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 28, 29.

† Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 376.

to

to the treaty of Oliva, in which it was ſtipulated, that the rights of the diſſidents ſhould be maintained in their full latitude *.

Such was the ſituation of the diſſidents at the acceſſion of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, who, though ſtrongly inclined to toleration, was obliged to concur with the general ſenſe of the diet, and confirm the laws which had been promulgated againſt them. The diſſidents applied to the courts of London, Peterſburg, Berlin, and Copenhagen, as the mediating powers in the treaty of Oliva, who warmly ſupported their cauſe, and preſented memorials to the diet, demanding a reſtoration of their religious eſtabliſhments, and of all the privileges ſecured to them by that treaty.

The diet of 1766, however, was not of a temper to accede to theſe propoſals. The enemies of toleration contended, that the privileges were obſolete, having been repeatedly aboliſhed in various diets, and that the diſſidents had no well-founded claim either to the reſtitution of their civil immunities, or to the toleration of their worſhip; the biſhop of Cracow, the moſt bigotted of the catholics, even propoſed a law againſt their catholic abettors. Violent altercations aroſe in the aſſembly, when the Pruſſian and Ruſſian memorials were read; and an immediate tu-

* For the account of the diſſidents, ſee Lengnich, Pac. Con. Aug. III. 16—30. and Jus Publ. ſparſim.

mult

mult being apprehended, the king retired without proroguing the diet as uſual, to the following day. The primate likewiſe refuſed to continue the ſitting, and the members ſeparated in great diſorder. On the ſubſequent day, the ſpirit of intolerance was in no degree abated; the moderate party was over-ruled, and the acts againſt the diſſidents confirmed. But to conciliate the mediating powers, the bench of biſhops, by command of the diet, drew up nine articles in favour of the diſſidents, relative to the free exerciſe of their worſhip. Theſe conceſſions not being deemed ſufficiently favourable, while the exceptionable laws were unrepealed, the Empreſs of Ruſſia remonſtrated againſt the proceedings of the diet, and the diſſidents began to form confederacies in different parts of the kingdom. They were joined by many diſcontented catholics, and aſſiſted by a large body of Ruſſian troops, who entered Thorn, where the firſt and principal confederacy took its riſe. All the mediating powers, Great Britain, Denmark, Pruſſia, and Sweden, teſtified their approbation of theſe confederacies. The diſputes ſoon embraced other objects beſide religion; political grievances were brought forward, and ſeveral confederacies ſtarted up in different parts of the kingdom among the catholic nobles, who affected to be advocates for toleration, and declared their intentions of ſupporting the cauſe of the diſſidents.

Prince

Prince Radzivil, who had ſignalized himſelf in oppoſing the king's election, was appointed marſhal to all the catholic confederacies, united in one formidable aſſociation under the appellation of malcontents. The coalition of this catholic confederacy, with that of the diſſidents, ſoon afterwards took place in the palace of prince Radzivil at Warſaw. Mean while the king convoked an extraordinary diet, as the only probable means to prevent a civil war, and appeaſe the Empreſs of Ruſſia, whoſe troops had advanced within a ſmall diſtance of Warſaw. The diet, ſummoned for the purpoſe of reconciling the oppoſite parties, failed in producing the intended effect; the biſhop of Cracow and his partiſans having bitterly inveighed againſt the pretenſions of the diſſidents, and the interference of foreign powers, was, with the biſhop of Kiof and a few others, the moſt violent of their party, arreſted in the night by a corps of Ruſſian troops, and ſent, without trial, to Ruſſia, where they experienced a rigorous impriſonment *.

The

* The biſhop of Cracow and his aſſociates were arreſted on the 15th of October, 1767; they were detained in priſon above five years, not being releaſed before the beginning of 1773. They were firſt confined at Smolenſko, and afterwards at Kaluga. The following extracts from certain manuſcript letters in my poſſeſſion give ſome account of their impriſonment, and of the biſhop's return:

"At firſt their confinement was very rigorous, and particularly in their journey to Smolenſko; for although they were conducted at the ſame time, and impriſoned at the ſame place, yet they were never

The diet, intimidated by the fate of the leading members, and being no longer inflamed by their

never permitted to ſee each other during the firſt ſix months. Afterwards they were rigorouſly treated. They were removed from Smolenſko, on ſuſpicion of a correſpondence between the biſhop of Cracow and his partiſans in Lithuania; and, although this ſuſpicion was not founded, yet it occaſioned the reſolution adopted by the court of Peterſburg to tranſport them to Kaluga."

"Warſaw, 15 February, 1773. The biſhop of Cracow is already arrived: he had diſpatched an expreſs from Minſk to the Great Chancellor of the Crown to announce his return on the 14th. The expreſs came on Thurſday afternoon, and was followed by another the next day with the news, that the biſhop himſelf was on his route; and he arrived at five in the afternoon. In the ſuburbs of Praga, being met by the Pope's nuntio, together with the biſhops of Cujavia and Poſnania, he quitted his own carriage and entered that of the biſhop of Poſnania, into whoſe palace he alighted at Warſaw. He was accompanied by perſons of the firſt diſtinction, and followed by a crowd of people, huzzaing as he paſſed the ſtreets; ſome out of affection, others from imitation, or excited by ſecret emiſſaries. The doors of the palace being open to all who choſe to enter, the apartments were immediately filled with perſons of all ranks, biſhops, ſenators, miniſters and officers of ſtate, nobles, prieſts, citizens, together with the loweſt of the populace, and even beggars, all huddled together pell-mell, eager to behold, hear, and applaud the biſhop, who had ſo unexpectedly made his appearance. He ſpoke for a conſiderable time, and related the hiſtory of his impriſonment, which he aſſured them had not made any alteration in his ſentiments of religion and liberty. 'I have been twice,' he added, arreſted by the Ruſſians, the firſt time with the primate Potoſki, the ſecond at my late confinement, and perhaps I may yet be caſt into priſon a third time."

"He propoſes to retire in a ſhort time to his dioceſe, and it is reported that he intends to forbid the prieſts from wearing wigs and ruffles: he himſelf wears neither. His hair is grown grey ſince his confinement, and he looks conſiderably older; he covers his head with a red cap which he made himſelf.

"Yeſterday

their eloquence, appointed, though not without tumult, a grand committee to adjuſt, in conjunction

"Yeſterday he had an audience of the king, which continued an hour. He addreſſed his majeſty with great decency and reſpect; and, among other things, begged pardon, if, before his arreſt, he had expreſſed himſelf either in a manner or in terms which were diſpleaſing, aſſuring him at the ſame time of his attachment, fidelity, and zeal for the ſervice of his king, and the good of his country. After the audience, he attended maſs, and preſented his majeſty with the New Teſtament, acquitting himſelf of that ceremony with propriety and decorum.

The biſhop of Kiof, having ſeparated from the biſhop of Cracow on the other ſide of Minſk, will not be here for ſome time. The palatine of Cracow and his ſon continue between Smolenſko and Kaluga, the place of their confinement, in order to attend upon Colonel Bachmatou, their conductor, who was taken ill upon their journey. The palatine, willing to repay with gratitude and humanity the attention which he received from the colonel during his confinement, could not be prevailed upon to quit him in his illneſs; and as he has ſome knowledge of phyſic, he is in hopes of completing his cure."

The biſhop of Cracow, who owed his releaſe from confinement principally to the interceſſion of the Ruſſian ambaſſador, acted with great indiſcretion on his return. He was conſidered as a martyr to the cauſe of religion and liberty; and, on approaching Warſaw, was met on the other ſide of the Viſtula by ſeveral ladies of diſtinction, who kiſſed his robe.

On his arrival he inſtantly waited on the Ruſſian ambaſſador, by whom he was received politely, but coldly. He expreſſed his gratitude for his enlargement, declared his conviction that Ruſſia was the only power inclined and able to relieve Poland, and offered his ſervices to aſſiſt that party at the enſuing diet. Count Stackelberg replied, 'I thank you for your offer, though the Empreſs has no need of your influence; you may retire to your dioceſe, if you chuſe to remain tranquil, but if you really intend to act as a friend to Ruſſia, your ſervices will be gladly accepted: at the ſame time,'

tion with the mediating powers, the affairs of the diſſidents, and then broke up. This committee expreſſed the moſt favourable diſpoſition towards the diſſidents, and propoſed to repeal all the laws enacted againſt them, and reſtore their ancient privileges. Their reſolutions being laid before the

added he, 'if you deceive me, you will draw on yourſelf greater misfortunes than you have already ſuffered.' The biſhop reiterated his profeſſions of ſincerity, and lived with the embaſſador upon terms of extreme familiarity.

The biſhop gave the embaſſador a ſplendid entertainment, and while they were playing at cards four couriers brought diſpatches from ſeveral provinces in Poland, containing manifeſtos of the biſhop, ſtiling himſelf a martyr to religion and liberty, and exhorting the people not to chuſe nuntios for a diet, which was to meet only to divide the kingdom. Soon afterwards the biſhop retired to his chapel, and performed his devotions with great oſtentation. Coming out with the pſalter in his hands, the embaſſador addreſſed him, 'My Lord, you play charmingly on the flute, and have a thouſand accompliſhments; I have no doubt but you dance a Polonoiſe uncommonly well.' Giving a ſign to the orcheſtra, the muſicians played, and the biſhop taking out one of the pages, led up the dance. During the exhibition, the embaſſador addreſſing ſeveral old ladies who admired the biſhop, exclaimed, 'Behold your martyr.' At the concluſion of the dance, Stackelberg took the biſhop aſide, and ſaid, 'You play well on the flute, and dance equally well a Polonoiſe; but you iſſue bad manifeſtos: here are the copies: you have broken your word;' and then abruptly turned away, while the biſhop was aukwardly ſtammering excuſes. The next morning the biſhop having ſuddenly quitted Warſaw, the embaſſador cauſed a paragraph to be inſerted in the gazette, announcing that the biſhop of Cracow was inſane, played upon a flute, danced a Polonoiſe with his page, and had ſuddenly diſappeared. The biſhop went to Cracow, and after ineffectually endeavouring to eſcape into Galicia, ſhut himſelf up in his palace, and was ſoon declared inſane by the permanent council, which was called by Stackelberg, giving him a *Brevet de folie.*

extraordinary diet, which was convened in the beginning of 1768, were ratified almoſt without oppoſition. This unanimous acquieſcence of the diet in regulations, totally repugnant to the ſentiments of the majority, can only be attributed to the dread of the Ruſſian troops quartered in Warſaw, and the influence of bribes judiciouſly diſtributed by the Ruſſian miniſter. The ſame cauſes rendered the diet equally compliant in other particulars, and occaſioned the eſtabliſhment of ſeveral * civil regulations, tending to perpetuate the defects of the conſtitution.

The nation ſeemed at this juncture to adopt the ſubmiſſive ſpirit of the diet, and received the new edicts with every ſymptom of cordiality. Poland appeared to enjoy for a moment an univerſal tranquillity; but it was that ſullen calm which precedes a tempeſt, and announces the approach of violent commotions.

During theſe tranſactions, the king, without influence, and conſequently without authority, was one moment hurried down the popular current, and the next forced by the mediating powers to

* Theſe regulations, which reſpect chiefly the eſtabliſhment in perpetuity of the elective monarchy, of the Liberum Veto, and of unanimity in all matters of ſtate, are all detailed in the articles of the diet of 1768, publiſhed at Warſaw: the principal clauſes are the ſame as are mentioned in the fourth chapter of this book relative to the changes made in the conſtitution in 1775. The reader will find them amply detailed, and accompanied with judicious remarks, in Lind's Preſent State of Poland, Letter III.

accede

accede to all the conditions which they laid before him; an humiliating ſituation for a prince of ſpirit and magnanimity. But more grievous ſcenes yet awaited the unfortunate monarch: he was doomed to behold his country torn to pieces by the moſt dreadful of all calamities, a religious war; to be indebted for his very ſubſiſtence to the voluntary contributions of his friends; to be almoſt a ſtate priſoner in his own capital; to be nearly aſſaſſinated; to ſee his faireſt provinces wreſted from him, and, finally, to depend, for his own ſecurity and that of his ſubjects, upon the protection of thoſe very powers, who had diſmembered his empire.

The Poliſh malcontents could allege plauſible cauſes of diſſatisfaction. The laws paſſed at the laſt diet bore a greater reſemblance to the abſolute mandates of a Ruſſian viceroy, than to the reſolutions of a free aſſembly. The outrage committed upon the biſhop of Cracow and his adherents annihilated liberty of debate; while the authoritative manner, in which the mediating powers of Berlin and Peterſburgh interfered in the affairs of Poland, threatened a more grievous ſubjection. Theſe ſpecious grounds of diſguſt, joined to a ſpirit of diſcontent which had gone forth throughout the nation againſt the king, occaſioned the inteſtine commotions that ſoon reduced Poland to a dreadful ſtate of deſolation.

The diet was not long diſſolved, before the indulgences granted to the diſſidents excited general diſſatisfaction among the Roman catholics. Several confederacies near the frontiers of the Turkiſh empire were formed in defence of the ſacred catholic faith. With a view to inflame the zeal of the populace, they carried ſtandards emblazoned with images of the Virgin Mary and the infant Jeſus; others with the Spread Eagle of Poland, and the mottos "Conqueſt or Death," "For religion and liberty *." Some banners bore as a device a red croſs, under which was inſcribed "The ſymbol of victory;" and the private ſoldiers, like the cruſaders of old, wore a croſs interwoven in their clothes. A party of theſe inſurgents ſeiſed upon the fortreſs of Bar in Podolia, another obtained poſſeſſion of Cracow; and the royal troops were either routed or induced to join them. In this criſis of affairs, the ſenate petitioned the Ruſſian ambaſſador not to withdraw the troops, as they afforded the only ſecurity againſt the confederates. The requeſt was readily complied with, and Poland became a ſcene of bloodſhed and devaſtation. In the various conflicts between the two parties, the ſuperiority of Ruſſian diſcipline generally prevailed. The confederates, however, ſecretly encouraged by the houſe of Auſtria, aſſiſted by the Turks, and ſupplied with money

* Aut vincere aut mori.—Pro religione et libertate.

and

and officers by the French, protracted hoſtilities from the diſſolution of the diet in 1768, to the diviſion of Poland in 1772. To enter into a detail of military operations, falls not within the deſign of this work. From the various acts of cruelty and revenge which diſgrace this part of the Poliſh hiſtory, I ſhall ſelect only one event too remarkable to be omitted; the attempt made by the confederates to aſſaſſinate the king.

CHAP. 3.

Attempt to aſſaſſinate the king of Poland.—He is attacked by the conſpirators in the ſtreets of Warſaw, wounded, and carried off.—His adventures and miraculous eſcape.—Return.—Account and fate of the principal conſpirators.

IN * the midſt of theſe turbulent and diſaſtrous ſcenes, the confederates (who conſidered the king as unlawfully elected) executed one of the moſt daring enterprizes of which modern hiſtory makes mention; I mean the attempt to aſſaſſinate the king.

A Poliſh nobleman named Pulaſki, general in the confederate army, planned the atrocious enterpriſe: he hired three chiefs, named Lukawſki, Strawenſki, and Koſinſki, who ſolemnly ſwore in his preſence at Czetſchokow, either to deliver the king alive into his hands, or if that was impoſſible, to put him to death; and to effect their purpoſe, they choſe thirty-ſeven coadjutors.

On the 2d of November they obtained admiſſion into Warſaw, by diſguiſing themſelves as pea-

* The circumſtantial account of this ſingular occurrence, was principally communicated by my ingenious friend Nathaniel Wraxall, Eſq. whoſe name is well known in the literary world, and who, during his reſidence at Warſaw, obtained the moſt authentic information upon this intereſting tranſaction. I have interwoven ſome anecdotes procured from other ſources.

ſants,

ſants, and concealing their ſaddles, arms, and clothes, under loads of hay, which they brought in waggons as if for ſale. On Sunday evening, the 3d of November, 1771, ſome of the conſpirators remained in the ſkirts of the city, and the moſt daring repaired in the duſk of the evening, to the ſtreet of the capuchins, where the king was expected to paſs.

Between nine and ten, the king returned from his uncle, Prince Czartoriſki's manſion, to the palace, accompanied by his aid-de-camp, in the carriage, and fifteen attendants. About two hundred paces from the manſion, the conſpirators commanded the coachman to ſtop, and fired ſeveral ſhots into the carriage, one of which paſſed through the body of a heyduc, who endeavoured to defend his maſter. Almoſt all the other attendants, even the aid-de-camp, fled, and the king opened the door of the carriage to effect his eſcape, under cover of the night, which was extremely dark. He had alighted, when the aſſaſſins ſeized him by the hair, exclaiming with horrible execrations, "We have thee now; thy hour is come" One of them diſcharged a piſtol at him ſo very near, that he felt the heat of the flaſh; while another cut him acroſs the head with his ſabre, which penetrated to the bone; then laying hold of his collar, and mounting on horſeback, they dragged him along the ground between their horſes

at full gallop near five hundred paces through the ſtreets of Warſaw *.

All was confuſion and diſorder at the palace, where the attendants ſpread the alarm. The foot-guards ran to the ſpot from where the king was ſeized, but found only his hat bloody, and his bag. This increaſed their apprehenſions for his life. The whole city was in an uproar, and the aſſaſſins availed themſelves of the general confuſion, to bear away their prize. Finding, however, that he was incapable of following them on foot, and had almoſt loſt his reſpiration from the violence with which they dragged him, they placed him on horſeback and redoubled their ſpeed. When they came to the ditch which ſurrounds Warſaw, they ordered him to leap his horſe over. In the attempt the horſe fell twice, and at the ſecond fall broke its leg. They then mounted the king upon another.

On the other ſide of the ditch the conſpirators

* It is aſtoniſhing, that of the number of balls which paſſed through the carriage, not one wounded the king. Several went through his *peliſſe*, or fur great-coat. It is no leſs wonderful, that the aſſaſſins after ſeizing the king, ſhould carry him through ſuch a number of ſtreets without being ſtopped. A Ruſſian centinel did challenge them; but, as they anſwered in Ruſſian, he allowed them to paſs, imagining them to be a patrole of his nation. This happened at ſome diſtance from the place where they had carried off the king. The night was beſides exceedingly dark, and Warſaw has no lamps. All theſe circumſtances contribute to account for this extraordinary event,

began

began to rifle the king, tearing off the order * of the black eagle of Pruſſia, which he wore round his neck, and the diamond croſs hanging to it. He requeſted them to leave his handkerchief, to which they conſented: his tablets eſcaped their rapacity. Several of the conſpirators retiring, probably with an intent to inform their reſpective leaders of the ſucceſs of the enterpriſe, only ſeven remained, of whom Koſinſki was the chief. The night was exceedingly dark; they were ignorant of the way, and as, from the ſlipperineſs of the ground, the horſes were continually floundering, they compelled the king to follow them on foot, with only one ſhoe, the other being loſt in the dirt. After paſſing the ditch they repeatedly demanded of Koſinſki, if it was not yet time to put the king to death; and theſe demands were reiterated in proportion to the obſtacles which they encountered.

They continued to wander through the open meadows, without following any certain path, until, apprehenſive of being overtaken, they again mounted the king on horſeback: one led his horſe by the bridle, and two holding him on each ſide by the hand, pulled his head down on the horſe's neck.

* Lukawſki tore off the ribbon of the Black Eagle, which Frederick the Second had conferred on the king when he was Count Poniatowſki. One of his motives for doing this was, by ſhewing the order of the Black Eagle to Pulaſki and the confederates, to prove to them that the king was their priſoner.

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In this manner they proceeded towards the village of Burakow, which the king warned them not to enter *, becauſe ſome Ruſſians were ſtationed in the place. Finding himſelf, however, incapable of ſupporting the painful poſture in which they held him, and ſuffering extreme agony from the effect of the cold air on his wounds, he ſupplicated for another horſe, a cap, and a boot †. This requeſt being complied with, they continued their progreſs through almoſt impaſſable lands, and at length found themſelves in the wood of Bielany, only a league diſtant from Warſaw, where they were ſuddenly alarmed by a Ruſſian patrole. Conſulting with each other, four inſtantly diſappeared, and the three remaining conſpirators compelled the king to diſmount and walk. In a quarter of an hour, a ſecond Ruſſian guard challenging them, two of the aſſaſſins fled, and Koſinſki alone remained. Exhauſted with fatigue, and overcome with pain, the king implored his conductor to gratify

* This intimation, which the king gave to his aſſaſſins, may at firſt ſight appear extraordinary and unaccountable; but was really dictated by great addreſs and judgment. He apprehended, with reaſon, that, on the ſight of a Ruſſian guard, they would inſtantly put him to death with their ſabres, and fly; whereas by informing them of the danger they incurred, he in ſome meaſure gained their confidence: in effect, this behaviour ſeemed to ſoften them, and made them believe he did not mean to eſcape.

† The king in his ſpeech to the diet on the trial of the conſpirators, interceded ſtrongly for Koſinſki, or John Kutſma, to whom he

tify him with a moment's repoſe; but Koſinſki refuſed, menaced him with his ſabre, and ſaid, that beyond the wood they ſhould find a carriage. On reaching the gate of the convent of Bielany, the king obſerving Koſinſki loſt in thought, and extremely agitated, ſaid, "I ſee you are at a loſs which way to proceed. Let me enter the convent of Bielany, and do you provide for your own ſafety." "No," replied Koſinſki, "I have ſworn."

They proceeded in ſilence to Mariemont, a ſmall palace belonging to the houſe of Saxony, in the vicinity of Warſaw; here Koſinſki expreſſed ſatisfaction at recognifing the place, and the king ſtill demanding a moment's repoſe, he at length conſented. They ſat down on the ground, and the king endeavoured to ſoften his conductor, and induce him to favour or permit his eſcape. He repreſented the atrocity of attempting to murder his ſovereign, and the invalidity of an oath for the perpetration of ſo heinous a deed. Koſinſki

gratefully expreſſes himſelf indebted for theſe favours in the following words:

"As I was in the hands of the aſſaſſins, I heard them repeatedly aſk John Kutſma, if they ſhould not aſſaſſinate me, but he always prevented them. He was the firſt who perſuaded them to behave to me with greater gentleneſs, and obliged them to confer upon me ſome ſervices which I then greatly wanted; namely, one to give me a cap, and a ſecond a boot, which at that time were no trifling preſents: for the cold air greatly affected the wound in my head; and my foot, which was covered with blood, gave me inexpreſſible torture, which continued every moment increaſing."

lent

lent attention to this diſcourſe, and betrayed ſigns of remorſe. "But", he ſaid "if I ſhould reconduct you to Warſaw, what will be the conſequence? I ſhall be taken and executed." "I give you my word," anſwered his majeſty, "that you ſhall ſuffer no harm; but if you doubt my promiſe, eſcape while there is yet time, I can find my way to ſome place of ſecurity, and I will direct your purſuers to take the contrary road to that which you have choſen." Koſinſki, affected with this inſtance of generoſity, threw himſelf at the king's feet, implored forgiveneſs, and ſwore to protect him againſt every enemy. His majeſty reiterated his aſſurance of ſafety. Deeming it, however, prudent to gain ſome aſylum, without delay, he directed his courſe to a neighbouring mill; Koſinſki knocked, but no anſwer being given, he broke a pane of glaſs in the window, and requeſted ſhelter for a nobleman plundered by robbers. The miller ſuppoſing them to be banditti, refuſed, and continued more than half an hour to perſiſt in his denial. At length the king himſelf approached, and ſpeaking through the broken pane, obſerved, "if we were robbers as you ſuppoſe, we could eaſily break the whole window, and force our entrance." This argument prevailed, the door was opened, and the king being admitted, tore a leaf from his pocket book, and wrote a note to general Coccei, colonel of the foot guards, "Par une eſpece de

miracle

miracle je ſuis ſauvé des mains des aſſaſſins. Je ſuis ici au petit moulin de Mariemont. Venez au plutôt me tirer d'ici. Je ſuis bleſſé mais pas fort*." With great difficulty the king perſuaded one of the miller's ſervants to carry this note to Warſaw, as they, believing the account of his being plundered by robbers, were afraid of meeting the troop.

Meanwhile the confuſion and conſternation increaſed at Warſaw. The guards were afraid to purſue the conſpirators, leſt terror of being overtaken ſhould prompt them to maſſacre the king; but ſeveral of the firſt nobility at length mounted on horſeback, and following the track of the aſſaſſins, arrived at the place where the king paſſed the ditch. There they found his *peliſſe* bloody, and pierced with holes, made by the balls or ſabres. This ſight convinced them that he was no more.

When the meſſenger arrived with the note, the aſtoniſhment and joy were incredible. Coccei inſtantly rode to the mill, followed by a detachment of the guards, and being admitted by Koſinſki, who watched at the door, with his drawn ſabre, found the king aſleep on the ground, covered with the miller's cloak. Coccei threw himſelf at

* "By a kind of miracle I am eſcaped from the hands of aſſaſſins. I am now at the mill of Mariemont. Come as ſoon as poſſible, and take me from hence. I am wounded, but not dangerouſly."

the

the king's feet, calling him his ſovereign, and kiſſing his hand. It is not eaſy to deſcribe the aſtoniſhment of the miller and his family, who imitated Coccei's example, by precipitating themſelves on their knees.

On awaking from his ſlumber Staniſlaus haſtily inquired whether any of his attendants had ſuffered from the aſſaſſins. Being informed that a heyduc was killed, and another wounded, his mind, naturally feeling, now rendered more ſuſceptible by his late danger, was greatly affected; and his joy at his own eſcape conſiderably diminiſhed.

The king returned to Warſaw in general Coccei's carriage, and reached the palace at five in the morning. The ſtreets were illuminated with torches, and crowded by an immenſe concourſe of people, who followed him, crying out inceſſantly "The king is alive." On entering the palace, the doors were thrown open, and perſons of all ranks admitted to felicitate their ſovereign on his wonderful eſcape. The ſcene was affecting beyond deſcription; every one ſtruggled to kiſs his hand, or even to touch his clothes; all were ſo tranſported with joy, that they loaded Koſinſki with careſſes, and called him the ſaviour of their king. Staniſlaus, deeply affected with theſe marks of zeal and loyalty, expreſſed in the moſt feeling manner his ſenſe of their attachment, and declared

declared it the happieſt hour of his life. In this moment of rapture he forgot his dangers and ſufferings, and as all were eager to learn the circumſtances of his eſcape, would not ſuffer his wounds to be dreſſed, until he had ſatisfied their impatience.

During the recital, a perſon unacquainted with the language might have diſcovered the various events of the ſtory from the changes of expreſſion in the countenances of the byſtanders, which diſplayed the moſt ſudden alterations from terror to compaſſion, from compaſſion to aſtoniſhment, and from aſtoniſhment to rapture; while the univerſal ſilence was only broken by ſighs and tears of joy.

Having finiſhed the account, the king again repeated his aſſurances of gratitude and affection for theſe unfeigned proofs of loyalty, adding, "I hope that I am preſerved by Divine Providence, to purſue with additional zeal the good of my country, which has ever been the great object of my attention."

Being now left alone, the ſurgeons examined the wound in his head. On cutting away the ſkin, it appeared that the bone was hurt, but not dangerouſly. From the quantity of clotted blood, the operation of dreſſing was extremely painful, and was borne by the king with great magnanimity. The ſurgeons propoſed to bleed him in the

the foot, but laid aſide this intention, finding both his feet conſiderably ſwollen, and covered with bliſters and bruiſes.

The miller was rewarded with a penſion, and a mill on the Viſtula.

The family of the heyduc, who ſaved the king's life by the loſs of his own, was amply provided for; his body was buried with great pomp; and Staniſlaus erected a handſome monument to his memory, with an elegant inſcription expreſſive of the man's fidelity and of his own gratitude. The monument is a pyramid ſtanding upon a ſarcophagus, with a Latin* and Poliſh inſcription.

Koſinſki, whoſe real name was John Kutſma, was born in the palatinate of Cracow, of mean parents. He aſſumed the name of Koſinſki, which is that of a noble family, and was created an officer in the troops of the confederates under Pulaſki.

* "Hic jacet Georgius Henricus Butzau, qui regem Staniſlaum Auguſtum, nefariis parricidarum telis impetitum, die III Nov. 1771, proprii pectoris clypeo defendens, gemlnatis ictibus confoſſus, glorioſè occubuit. Fidelis ſubditi necem lugens, Rex poſuit hocce monumentum illius in laudem, aliis exemplo."

"Here lies George Henry Butzau, who, on the 3d of November, 1771, oppoſing his own breaſt to ſhield Staniſlaus Auguſtus from the weapons of nefarious parricides, was pierced with repeated wounds, and glorioufly expired. The king, lamenting the death of a faithful ſubject, erected this monument, as a tribute to him, and an example to others."

Koſinſki

Koſinſki began to entertain the idea of preſerving the king's life from the time in which he was abandoned by Lukawſki and Strawenſki; yet he had great ſtruggles with himſelf before he determined to take this ſtep, on account of the ſolemn engagements into which he had entered. Even after his arrival at Warſaw, he expreſſed much doubt of the propriety of his conduct, and ſome remorſe for having deceived his employers. Soon after the execution of Lukawſki and Strawenſki, he was permitted to retire from Poland, and reſided at Semigallia in the Papal territories, where he enjoyed an annual penſion from the king.

Lukawſki and Strawenſki were both taken, and ſeveral of the other aſſaſſins. At the king's requeſt, the diet remitted the capital puniſhment of the inferior conſpirators, and condemned them to work for life on the fortifications of Kaminiec. By his interceſſion alſo the horrible puniſhment which the laws of Poland inflict on regicides were mitigated, and Lukawſki and Strawenſki were only beheaded. At the concluſion of the troubles, Pulaſki eſcaped from Poland, and repaired to America; he diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the American ſervice, and was killed in attempting to force the Britiſh lines at the ſiege of Savannah, in 1779.

CHAP. 4.

Plan and progreſs of the partition of Poland.—Projected by the king of Pruſſia.—Adopted by the emperor of Germany, and finally acceded to by the empreſs of Ruſſia.—The conſent of the king and diet of Poland extorted after great oppoſition.—Changes in the government introduced by the partitioning powers.—Spirited, but fruitleſs, reſiſtance of the Poliſh delegates.—Fate of the diſſidents.

POLAND had long derived ſecurity from her peculiar ſituation between three great powers, each equally intereſted to prevent the others from acquiring increaſe of ſtrength, or addition of territory: the union of theſe rival potentates was conſidered as almoſt impoſſible; and ſhould ſuch an unexpected union take place, it was deemed incredible that the other princes of Europe would paſſively ſubmit to a material alteration in the balance of power.

Treaties upon treaties, and negociations upon negociations, guarantied to Poland the poſſeſſion of her territory; and at the king's acceſſion, the three powers who diſmembered her provinces, ſolemnly renounced all right to any part of the Poliſh dominions. But treaties and guaranties are in general only fulfilled until they can be broken with ſafety; and the moſt effectual method for a ſtate to ſecure its dominions, is to make

itſelf

itſelf reſpectable by ſtrength and unanimity, and to be prepared againſt attack. When a powerful people impute national diſaſters, which vigour and foreſight might have prevented, to the perfidy of foreign ſtates, they only bear teſtimony, in more ſpecious terms, to their own indolence, negligence, or weakneſs of government. The natural ſtrength of Poland, if properly exerted, would have formed a more certain bulwark againſt the ambition of her neighbours than the faith of treaties; and it is worthy of remark, that of the three partitioning powers, Pruſſia* was

* In the 13th century, all Pruſſia belonged to the knights of the Teutonic order. In 1454, that part, ſince denominated Poliſh or Weſtern Pruſſia, revolted to Caſimir IV. and was afterwards incorporated into the dominions of the republic; at the ſame time the knights were conſtrained to hold the remaining part, called Eaſtern Pruſſia, as a fief of the crown of Poland. In 1525 Eaſtern Pruſſia was erected into an hereditary duchy, and given to Albert of Brandenburg, as a Poliſh fief. His ſon Albert Frederick, being impaired in his faculties, the adminiſtration was veſted firſt in Joachim Frederick elector of Brandenburg, and afterwards in Joachim's ſon John Sigiſmond, who had married Albert's daughter. Upon the demiſe of Albert without male heirs, John Sigiſmond ſucceeded to the duchy of Pruſſia, and did homage as a vaſſal of the republic. His grandſon Frederick William, the great Elector, was the firſt duke of Pruſſia releaſed from this badge of feudal dependence by John Caſimir; Eaſtern Pruſſia being declared a ſovereign, independent, and hereditary duchy.

Frederick his ſon aſſumed the title of King of Pruſſia, which however the Poles never acknowledged until 1764, at the acceſſion of Staniſlaus Auguſtus. Frederick II. by the partition treaty, poſſeſſed both Weſtern and Eaſtern Pruſſia.

formerly in a ſtate of vaſſalage to the republic; Ruſſia * once ſaw her capital and throne poſſeſſed by the Poles; and Auſtria was indebted to John Sobieſki † for the preſervation of Vienna.

A kingdom, ſo lately the maſter or protector of its neighbours, would never have been ſo eaſily overwhelmed without the moſt glaring imperfections in the government. Poland, in truth, formerly more powerful than the ſurrounding ſtates, has declined in the midſt of general improvement, and, after giving law to the north, is become an eaſy prey to every invader.

The partition of Poland was firſt projected by the king of Pruſſia. Poliſh or Weſtern Pruſſia had long been an object of his ambition ‡: ex-

* Under Sigiſmond III. whoſe troops got poſſeſſion of Moſcow, and whoſe ſon Ladiſlaus was choſen great duke of Muſcovy by a party of the Ruſſian nobles.

† John Sobieſki, who compelled the Turks to raiſe the ſiege of Vienna, and delivered the houſe of Auſtria from the greateſt dangers it ever experienced.

‡ I find many inſtances of the king of Pruſſia's anxious deſire to acquire Poliſh Pruſſia, among the papers of lord Grantham and Mr. Keith, both of whom were Britiſh envoys to the court of Vienna. A diſpatch from the duke of Newcaſtle to ſir Charles Hanbury Williams and Mr. Keith, dated April 20, 1753, contains this remarkable paragraph:

"It is known that the king of Pruſſia's great object is to make himſelf maſter of Poliſh Pruſſia, or *La Pruſſe Royale*; this has been for ſome time the view of the Houſe of Brandebourg, and if it could be obtained, would add great ſtrength and weight, even by ſea, and particularly with regard to the trade of the Baltic, to his Pruſſian majeſty's power, which we feel but too much at preſent."

cluſive

cluſive of its fertility, commerce, and population, the local ſituation rendered it highly valuable; it lay between his German dominions and Eaſtern Pruſſia, and while poſſeſſed by the Poles, cut off all communication between them. During the courſe of the ſeven years war, Frederick experienced the moſt fatal effects from this diſunited poſition of his territories. By the acquiſition of Weſtern Pruſſia, his dominions would be rendered compact, and his troops in time of war be able to march from Berlin to Koningſberg without interruption. The period was now arrived, when the ſituation of Poland ſeemed to promiſe the attainment of this favourite object. He purſued it, however, with all the caution of an able politician. On the commencement of the troubles, he ſhewed no eagerneſs to interfere in the affairs of this country, and although he concurred with the empreſs of Ruſſia in raiſing Staniſlaus Auguſtus to the throne of Poland, yet he declined taking an active part againſt the confederates. Afterwards, in 1769, when the whole kingdom was convulſed with civil commotions, and deſolated by the plague, he advanced his troops into Poliſh Pruſſia, and occupied that whole diſtrict, under pretence of forming lines to prevent the ſpreading of the infection.

Though completely maſter of the country, and not apprehenſive of a formidable reſiſtance

from the diſunited Poles; yet, aware that the ſecurity of his new acquiſition depended upon the concurrence of Ruſſia and Auſtria, he planned the partition. He communicated the project to the emperor, by whom it was readily adopted, either during their interview at Nieſs in Sileſia, in 1769, or in the following year, at Neuſtadt* in Moravia. Joſeph, who had ſecretly encouraged the confederates, and even commenced a negotiation with the Porte againſt Ruſſia, now ſuddenly altered his meaſures, and increaſed his army towards the Poliſh frontiers. The plague preſenting to him, as well as to the king of Pruſſia, a ſpecious motive for ſtationing troops in the dominions of the republic, he gradually extended his lines, and, in 1772, occupied the whole territory, which he has ſince diſmembered. But, notwithſtanding this change in his ſentiments, his real views upon Poland were at firſt effectually concealed; and the confederates imagined that the Auſtrian army was advancing to act in their favour.

Nothing remained towards completing the partition, but the acceſſion of the empreſs of Ruſſia, who was too diſcerning a politician not

* See a curious account of the interview between the emperor and the king of Pruſſia, and the plan for the accompliſhment of the partition, in Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, &c. Vol. II. Letter 19.

to regard with a jealous eye the introduction of foreign powers into Poland. Poſſeſſing an uncontrouled aſcendancy over the whole country, ſhe could propoſe no material advantage from the formal acquiſition of a part, and muſt purchaſe a moderate addition to her territory by a conſiderable ſurrender of authority. Frederick, well acquainted with the capacity of the empreſs to diſcern the true intereſts of Ruſſia, forbore opening any negociation on the ſubject of the partition, until ſhe was involved in a Turkiſh war. At that criſis he diſpatched his brother Prince Henry to Peterſburg, who ſuggeſted to the empreſs that the houſe of Auſtria was concluding an alliance with the Porte; that nevertheleſs the friendſhip of that houſe was to be purchaſed by acceding to the partition, upon which condition the emperor would ſuffer the Ruſſians to proſecute the war without interruption. Catharine, anxious to puſh her conqueſts againſt the Turks, and dreading the interpoſition of the emperor; perceiving likewiſe, from the intimate union between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, that ſhe could not prevent the intended partition, cloſed with the propoſal, and ſelected no inconſiderable portion of the Poliſh territories for herſelf. The treaty was ſigned at Peterſburg in the beginning of February 1772, by the Ruſſian, Auſtrian, and Pruſſian plenipotentiaries.

As the troops of the three courts were already in poſſeſſion of the greater part of Poland, the confederates, hemmed in on all ſides, were ſoon diſperſed; and Europe waited in anxious expectation. Yet the partitioning powers proceeded with ſuch profound ſecrecy, that even after the ratification of the treaty, only vague conjectures were entertained at Warſaw* concerning their real intentions; and the late lord Cathcart, the Engliſh miniſter at Peterſburgh, obtained no authentic information of its ſignature, until two months after the event.

The firſt formal notification of any pretenſions to the Poliſh territory was in September 1772, announced to the king and ſenate aſſembled at Warſaw, by the Imperial embaſſador, which was ſoon followed by the memorials of the Ruſſian and Pruſſian courts, ſpecifying their reſpective

* I have a collection of MS. letters written from Warſaw before and after the partition: the following paſſages from thoſe letters will ſhew the myſterious conduct of the three courts, and the uncertainty of the Poles concerning the diſmemberment. "On cache à Vienne les vrais motifs et le but de la prochaine entrée des troupes en Pologne," &c. May 6, 1772. All the letters ſpeak of the apprehenſions of diſmemberment; but the firſt which mentions it with any certainty is dated May 19, which relates, that one of the king of Pruſſia's officers, paſſing through Marienburgh, even ſaid, that the neighbourhood of that town had fallen to the king by partition. May 30. "On croit de plus et plus qu'on nous partagera; tant d'avis qui s'accordent là deſſus ne peuvent pas être ſur de vaines imaginations et conjectures," &c. Aug. 13. "La bombe va crever, on acheve le traité de partage," &c. Auguſt 24. "C'en eſt fait, le traité ébauché au mois de Fevrier vient de prendre conſiſtence," &c.

claims,

claims. It would be tedious to enter into a detail of the pleas urged by the three powers in favour of their ſeveral demands; it would be no leſs unintereſting to lay before the reader the anſwers and remonſtrances of the king and ſenate, as well as the appeals to the other ſtates which had guarantied the poſſeſſions of Poland. The courts of London, Paris, Stockholm, and Copenhagen, remonſtrated; but remonſtrances without aſſiſtance were of no effect. Poland ſubmitted to the diſmemberment *, not however without the moſt violent ſtruggles, and, for the firſt time, felt and lamented the fatal effects of faction and diſcord.

A diet being demanded by the partitioning powers to ratify the ceſſion, was convoked by the king in the following ſummons: "Since there are no hopes from any quarter, and any further delays will only tend to draw down the moſt dreadful calamities upon the remainder of the dominions which are left to the republic; the diet is convened for the 19th of April 1773, according to the will of the three courts; never-

* In 1793, Poland ſuffered a new diſmemberment, from the united powers of Ruſſia and Pruſſia; and in 1795, after an ineffectual ſtruggle, the government was annihilated, the king compelled to abdicate, and the whole country divided between Ruſſia, Auſtria, and Pruſſia, and incorporated in their reſpective dominions.

theleſs,

theleſs, in order to avoid all cauſe of reproach, the king, with the advice of the ſenate, again appeals to the guarantees of the treaty of Oliva."

The diet met at the appointed time; and ſuch was the ſpirit of the members, that, notwithſtanding the deplorable ſituation of their country, and the threats and bribes of the three powers, the partition-treaty was not ratified without much difficulty. For ſome time the majority of the nuntios were determined to oppoſe the diſmemberment; and the king firmly perſiſted in the ſame reſolution*. The embaſſadors of the three courts

* The king was bitterly cenſured for conſenting to the treaty of partition, and even accuſed of being acceſſory to the diſmemberment. The laſt unjuſt aſperſion he fully refuted, in his celebrated ſpeech to the diet on the 10th of May 1773; but an anecdote, communicated to me by Mr. afterwards ſir Thomas Wroughton, ſeems to prove that the king was ſenſible of, and even condemned his own irreſolution.

A few days before he conſented to the treaty of diſmemberment, the king ſent for Mr. Wroughton, and expreſſed his reſolution to abdicate rather than ſign the act of diſmemberment. "Do you think," he ſaid, "that the king of England will give me an aſylum?" The Britiſh miniſter replying in the affirmative, he added, "Inform your court, that I am determined to withhold my ſignature." Mr. Wroughton inſinuating, that perhaps his Majeſty might change his mind. "Do you ſee this right hand!" exclaimed the king with vehemence; "I will ſooner have it cut off than ſign the treaty, and whatſoever becomes of me, I am ready to ſupport my duty with firmneſs. If you will not write, I will write myſelf." Mr. Wroughton obeyed; but in a few days the king ſigned the treaty. At the next meeting he apologized for his weakneſs, and acknowledged that he was unfit to be king of Poland.

courts enforced their requiſitions by the moſt alarming menaces; threatened the king with depoſition

Poland. "I was menaced," he added, "with depoſition and confinement; my friends and family would have been involved in my ruin, my country would have been pillaged by my enemies, and I had not reſolution to reſiſt."

In the frequent conferences, to which I had the honour of being admitted by the king of Poland, he uniformly declared, that the principal motive which induced him to ſign the act of diſmemberment, was derived from the dread of involving his friends in his own ruin, and that he acted in conformity with the advice of thoſe perſons in whom he placed the moſt implicit confidence.

The truth of theſe aſſertions is ſufficiently evident, from an anecdote confidentially communicated by count Stackelberg himſelf.

It was well known to the Ruſſian court, that the king's oppoſition to the diſmemberment and to the new form of government, was countenanced by his uncle prince Czartoriſki, and his other relations. The Ruſſian embaſſador deemed it therefore neceſſary to intimidate his adviſers; and when the miniſters of the three powers delivered to the delegates the demands of their reſpective courts, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian plenipotentiaries gave only a ſhort and ſpecific ſtatement of their claims; but the Ruſſian embaſſador preſented a long memorial, in which he declared, "that certain perſons," by whom he deſignated the king's uncle and principal adviſers, "had, by fomenting the internal diſorders of the ſtate, reduced Poland to her preſent wretched ſituation. The delegates, inflamed by this charge almoſt to madneſs, threatened to deſtroy thoſe who had been the cauſe of their country's misfortunes, and repeatedly demanded their names. The preſident of the delegates even wrote to count Stackelberg a note, in which, after deſcribing the indignation which his memorial had excited among the members, he added, "You have it in your power to wreak your vengeance on thoſe who have offended your court." The embaſſador replied, "I requeſt you to poſtpone your ſitting till Monday (it was then Saturday) and ſend a deputation to demand the names of thoſe who have cauſed the misfortunes of their country."

On

poſition and impriſonment, and declared that if the diet continued refractory, Warſaw ſhould be pillaged. This report, induſtriouſly circulated, made a deep impreſſion upon the inhabitants. By theſe menaces, by corrupting the marſhal of the diet, who was accompanied with a Ruſſian guard; in a word, by bribes*, promiſes, and threats, the deputies at length ratified the diſmemberment. In the ſenate, however, or upper houſe, there was a majority of only ſix; in the lower houſe, or aſſembly of the nuntios, but one ſingle vote in favour of the meaſure†. An act

On the following day the Ruſſian embaſſador inſinuated to the king, who was alarmed for his relations, that their fate depended on their future behaviour. On Monday the deputation waited on the embaſſador, who anſwered, that he had not the empreſs's orders to denounce thoſe perſons, but would communicate their requeſt to her Imperial majeſty. This meaſure (to uſe the expreſſion of count Stackelberg) was to hold the ſword of Damocles over their heads. From that moment they became ſubſervient to the views of Ruſſia, and urged the king to ſign the act of diſmemberment, and to agree to the eſtabliſhment of the permanent council.

* The Ruſſian embaſſador arranged all the meaſures relative to the new form of government; he repeatedly expatiated on the venality of the Poles. Even during the ſitting of the diet, when the partition was ratified, numbers ſervilely crouded round him to ſolicit honours and places. He ſtood in the middle of the houſe, dictating to the chancellor the names of thoſe who were appointed to the ſtaroſtics and offices of the new government; and near the termination of the meeting, being fatigued with the numerous ſolicitations for the title of prince, he peeviſhly exclaimed, "Let the diet be created princeſs, and then you will all be princes."

† By 54 againſt 53.

was

was then paſſed to limit the ſeſſions to the term of a few days, and delegates were appointed, with full powers to adjuſt, in concert with the embaſſadors, the terms of the diſmemberment. The commiſſioners, or delegates, on the diſſolution of the diet in May, entered upon their office, and, by the month of September, finally concluded the treaty of partition in conformity to the dictates of the three courts. At this juncture, ſeveral nobles boldly iſſued manifeſtoes and remonſtrances in various parts of the kingdom, againſt the ceſſion of the provinces, and reprobated the conduct of the partitioning powers; but ſuch remonſtrances were totally diſregarded, and conſidered only as the laſt convulſions of an expiring nation.

Of the diſmembered countries*, the Ruſſian province is the largeſt, the Auſtrian the moſt populous, and the Pruſſian the moſt commercial. The population of the whole amounts to near 5,000,000 of ſouls; the firſt containing 1,500,000, the ſecond 2,500,000, and the third 860,000. Weſtern Pruſſia was the greateſt loſs to Poland, as by the diſmemberment of that province, the navigation of the Viſtula depends upon the king

* The reader, by conſulting the map of Poland (prefixed to this work) will ſee the ſituation and extent of the three diſmembered provinces. For an account of the Auſtrian province, ſee Book II. chap. I.; of the Ruſſian, Book III. chap. I.

of

of Pruſſia: by the loſs conſequently of this diſtrict, a fatal blow was given to the trade of Poland; for the heavy duties laid upon the merchandize paſſing to Dantzic, have greatly diminiſhed the commerce of that town, and tranſferred a conſiderable portion of it to Memmel and Koningſburgh.

Although the limits were ſettled by the treaty of partition, yet the Auſtrians and Pruſſians continually extended their frontiers: the emperor ſeized upon Caſimir, and even avowed an intention of taking poſſeſſion of Cracow and Kaminiec; while Frederick alleged theſe uſurpations as a juſtification for ſimilar encroachments, urging, that he could not, conſiſtently with his own ſecurity, ſee the emperor increaſe his dominions without aſſuming an equivalent.

Catharine was forced for a time to connive at theſe encroachments; but no ſooner was peace* eſtabliſhed

* The peace between the Empreſs and the Turks was ſigned on the 21ſt of July 1774, in Marſhal Romanzof's camp near Bulgaria; and in a letter from Warſaw, dated Auguſt 29, it is ſaid, "The emperor and king of Pruſſia continued encroaching upon the Poliſh territories, and enlarging their frontiers which were marked by the treaty of Peterſburgh. But upon the concluſion of the peace, the Auſtrian and Pruſſian troops retired within their reſpective lines. Behold already the good effects of this glorious peace! What would have become of us, if the arms of the Ottoman empire had proſpered according to the wiſhes of many?" And in another, dated Sept. 14, 1775, "The king of Pruſſia has written to the empreſs of Ruſſia a letter in a moſt enchanting ſtyle. After much

eſtabliſhed with the Turks, and the rebellion of Pugatcheff cruſhed, than ſhe turned her whole attention to Poland; and in conſequence of her ſpirited remonſtrances, both Auſtrians and Pruſſians relinquiſhed their uſurpations, and confined themſelves to the limits marked by the treaty of partition.

The partitioning powers did leſs injury to the republic by diſmembering its faireſt provinces, than by perpetuating the principles of anarchy, and eſtabliſhing on a permanent footing, that exorbitant liberty*, which is ever the parent of faction, and has proved the ruin of the republic. Under pretence of amending the conſtitution, they confirmed all its defects, and rendered this unhappy country incapable of emerging from its preſent deplorable ſtate.

The delegates who ratified the treaty of partition, being alſo empowered by the diet to concert with the three courts any alterations in the conſtitution which might appear beneficial to the kingdom, continued their ſittings from May

much praiſe, he adds, notwithſtanding the juſtice of his claim upon thoſe parts which he has annexed to his former acquiſitions, he ſhall make no difficulty in ſacrificing them, as a proof of his readineſs to oblige her imperial majeſty; provided the houſe of Auſtria will alſo reſtore what ſhe has taken."

* "Our liberty," ſaid a Pole, "is like a two-edged ſword in the hand of an infant, and for that very reaſon our neighbours are anxious to preſerve it entire."

1773 to March 1775; during this period the convocation of the ordinary diet was poſtponed until the members of the delegation had agreed to all the innovations propoſed by the embaſſadors, and until the government was finally arranged. Notwithſtanding the wretched condition of Poland, and the reſiſtleſs power of the three courts, the king and the majority of the delegates long withheld their conſent to the alterations.

An idea of their ſpirit may be formed from an account of a meeting, when the propoſitions relating to the change of government were firſt produced in 1773. Before the appearance of the three embaſſadors much was ſaid againſt the projected innovations; many reproaches were caſt againſt the authors of that plan, for ſacrificing the public advantage to their private ambition, reſentment, and intereſts. At the entrance of the three embaſſadors, a profound ſilence took place for ſome minutes, until the ſecretary of the Ruſſian embaſſy began to read the plan for new-modeling the conſtitution; when a general murmur ſpread through the whole aſſembly, increaſing, as he proceeded, to ſuch a degree as almoſt to drown his voice, and he could not, without frequent interruptions, finiſh the recital. He had ſcarcely concluded, when the whole body of delegates loudly demanded the

the treaties of partition and alliance; the embaſſadors anſwering, that many points could not be adjuſted without farther inſtructions from their reſpective courts, it was replied, that in the mean time they might introduce the treaty of commerce, which they were authoriſed to conclude. At all events, it was urged, the propoſal concerning the change of government is premature; a revolution of ſuch extreme importance demands the moſt deliberate examination, and ought not to be precipitated, as a circumſtance of no concern to the nation. One of the delegates, who was moſt violent in his oppoſition, delivered his ſentiments with a freedom which aſtoniſhed the aſſembly, and when the embaſſadors, who did not underſtand the Poliſh idiom, applied to a Caſtellan for an explanation, he excuſed himſelf, under pretence of not being qualified for the office of interpreter. At length, a Palatine, of the embaſſadors' party, acquainting them with the contents of the ſpeech; the orator thanked him for explaining the purport of his harangue in ſo able a manner, while the praiſes which, in a fine tone of irony, he affected to beſtow upon the Palatine for his readineſs to oblige, as well as for his independent ſpirit, occaſioned much mirth in the aſſembly. The undiſguiſed approbation given by the greater part of the members to this orator, convinced the em-

baſſadors that this was no time to obtrude their reſolutions upon the delegates; they accordingly broke up the meeting, and poſtponed the buſineſs to a future period *. The next ſeſſion, however, was not more favourable to their wiſhes; nor did the patriotic zeal of the delegates ſeem to abate. Their oppoſition indeed to this meaſure continued ſo violent, that more than a year elapſed before the embaſſadors were able, by the influence of threats, bribery, and promiſes, to obtain a majority; and before the delegates, terrified or ſeduced into compliance, formally acceded to the change of government. This important point being obtained, the delegation was diſſolved on the 13th of April, 1775, and all the articles were confirmed by the general diet.

A note, delivered by the three embaſſadors to the delegates on the 13th of September, 1773, will convey a general idea of the changes in the conſtitution. "The courts are ſo intereſted in the pacification of Poland, that, while the treaties are preparing to be ſigned and ratified, the miniſters cannot loſe any of that valuable time, ſo neceſſary for the re-eſtabliſhment of order, and the tranquillity of this kingdom. We now, there-

* The following paſſage in one of my MS. letters, dated ſo late as Nov. 13, 1774, will ſhew the difficulty of ſettling with the delegates. "The plan for the permanent council continues to be read: it ſtill excites continual debates, and more will ariſe; but all will be finiſhed according to the will of the miniſters."

fore,

fore, deliver to the delegation a part of thoſe cardinal laws, to the ratification of which our courts will not ſuffer any contradiction.

1. "The crown of Poland ſhall be for ever elective, and all order of ſucceſſion proſcribed: any perſon who ſhall endeavour to break this law, ſhall be declared an enemy to his country, and liable to be puniſhed accordingly. 2. Foreign candidates to the throne, being the frequent cauſe of troubles and diviſion, ſhall be excluded; and in future, no perſon can be choſen king of Poland, and great duke of Lithuania, excepting a native Pole, of noble origin, and poſſeſſing land within the kingdom. The ſon, or grandſon, of a king of Poland, cannot be elected immediately upon the death of his father or grandfather; nor ſhall be eligible, till after an interval of two reigns. 3. The government of Poland ſhall be for ever free, independent, and of a republican form. 4. The true principle of the ſaid government conſiſting in the ſtrict execution of its laws, and the equilibrium of the three eſtates, namely, the king, the ſenate, and the equeſtrian order, a permanent council ſhall be eſtabliſhed, in which the executive power ſhall be veſted. In this council the equeſtrian order, hitherto excluded from the adminiſtration of affairs in the intervals of the diets, ſhall be admitted; as ſhall be more clearly laid down in the future arrangements."

Theſe arrangements having been carried into execution, I ſhall make a few remarks upon the ſeveral articles. By the firſt, the houſe of Saxony, and all foreign princes, likely to give weight to Poland by their hereditary dominions, are rendered incapable of filling the throne. By the ſecond, the excluſion of a king's ſon or grandſon, excepting after an interval of two reigns, removes the faintest proſpect of an hereditary ſovereignty, and entails upon the kingdom all the evils inſeparable from that moſt wretched form of government, an elective monarchy. By the third article, the *liberum veto*, and all the exorbitant privileges of the equeſtrian order, are confirmed in their utmoſt latitude, and by the laſt, the prerogatives of the crown, are ſtill farther diminiſhed.

Before the concluſion of this chapter, it will be proper to mention the fate of the diſſidents. Their pretenſions were finally ſettled between the republic and the mediating powers, at the laſt meeting of the delegates. The catholic party violently oppoſing the reſtoration of their ancient privileges, by the conſent of the foreign courts, they continue excluded from the diet, the ſenate, and the permanent council. In return, the diſſidents enjoy the free exerciſe of their religion, are permitted to have churches without bells, ſchools and ſeminaries, are capable of ſitting in the inferior courts of juſtice, and in the tribunal

bunal appointed to try appeals in matters of religion, three of their communion are admitted as aſſeſſors.

In conſequence of this toleration, the diſſidents have conſtructed churches in different parts of the kingdom; one built upon this occaſion by the Lutherans at Warſaw, has the following inſcription:

"Has ædes Deo J. O. ſacras
Cœtus Varſovienſis in Auguſt. Confeſſ. ex conſenſu Staniſlai Auguſti Regis et Reipublicæ ſtruere cœpit, Aprilis 24, 1777."

CHAP. 5.

Government of Poland.—Supreme and legiſlative authority reſides in the diet.—Executive power veſted in the permanent council.—Origin of the diet.—Place and time of aſſembling.—Ordinary and extraordinary.—Convoked by the king.—Conſtituent parts.—King, ſenate, and nuntios.—Proceedings.—Liberum Veto.—Its dreadful effects.—How remedied.—Diet of confederacy.—The plain of Vola where the kings are elected.—Diets of convocation and election.

THE government of Poland is with great propriety ſtyled a republic, becauſe the king is exceedingly limited in his prerogative, and reſembles more the chief of a commonwealth, than the ſovereign of a powerful monarchy.

The ſupreme legiſlative authority reſides in the three eſtates of the realm, the king, ſenate, and equeſtrian order, aſſembled in a national diet*. The executive power, heretofore entruſted to the king and ſenate, is, according to the new form of government, veſted in the ſupreme permanent council †.

The

* For an account of the diet, ſee the next chapter

† By the eſtabliſhment of this council, the king was deprived of the power of conferring the ſtaroſties, and inſtead of freely appointing the biſhops, caſtellans, palatines, and miniſters, is reſtricted to the choice of three candidates, preſented by the permanent council. The king is merely the preſident of the permanent council, which conſiſts of three biſhops, nine lay-ſenators, four miniſters, the marſhal, and eighteen counſellors of the equeſtrian order; all of whom

The general diet declares war, makes peace, levies ſoldiers, forms alliances, impoſes taxes, enacts laws, and exerciſes all the rights of abſolute ſovereignty.

The beſt hiſtorians date the earlieſt diet in the reign of Caſimir the Great; but allow that it was not modelled into its preſent form until the reign of Caſimir the Third.

The place of holding the diets depended formerly upon the will of the kings; and Louis even ſummoned two in Hungary. In thoſe early times Petricau was the town where they moſt frequently aſſembled; but in 1569, at the union of Poland and Lithuania, Warſaw was appointed the place of meeting; and in 1673, it was enacted, that of three ſucceſſive diets, two ſhould be held in this capital, and one at Grodno * in Lithuania. This regulation has been generally followed, until the preſent reign, when the aſſemblies have been uniformly ſummoned to Warſaw †.

Diets are ordinary and extraordinary; the former are convened every two years, the latter as

are choſen every two years by a majority of ſecret votes in the diet. To this council, which may be called a committee, under the controul of Ruſſia, for executing the regal office, all internal regulations are ſubmitted before they are propoſed to the diet, and all foreign affairs decided by a majority.

* Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 262.

† See Book II. Chap. 6. Art. Grodno. Since my laſt departure from Poland in 1785, a diet has been held at Grodno.

occaſion requires. In 1717 the uſual ſeaſon for the ordinary diets was fixed at Michaelmas, but has ſince been occaſionally changed to the month of October or November.

The king, with the advice of the permanent council, convokes the diet, by circular letters iſſued to the palatines in their reſpective provinces, at leaſt ſix weeks before the time appointed for the meeting; theſe letters are accompanied with a ſhort ſketch of the buſineſs to be agitated in the diet.

The conſtituent parts of the diet are the three eſtates of the realm; the king, the ſenate, and the nobles or gentry, by their nuntios or repreſentatives. The king, conſidered in his capacity of preſident, is merely the chief of the diet: he ſubſcribes the acts, and decrees, iſſues all ordinances in his own name, and that of the republic, without enjoying the right of a negative. He has no vote, excepting upon an equality of ſuffrages; but is at liberty to deliver his ſentiments upon all queſtions.

Staniſlaus is eſteemed one of the moſt eloquent among the Poliſh orators, he has an agreeable tone of voice, harangues with great animation, energy, and dignity, and his ſpeeches always make a conſiderable impreſſion. When diſpoſed to ſpeak, he riſes from his ſeat, advances a few ſteps, and exclaims "I ſummon the miniſters of ſtate to the throne."

throne." Then the great officers of the crown, who are ſitting at the lower end of the ſenate-houſe, approach and ſtand near the king; the four great marſhals ſtrike the ground together with their ſtaves of office, and the firſt ſays, "The "king is going to ſpeak;"

The ſecond eſtate, or the ſenate, is compoſed of ſpiritual and temporal ſenators. The biſhop or ſpiritual ſenators have the precedence over the temporal ſenators. The archbiſhop of Gneſna is primate of the ſenate, and viceroy in caſe of an interregnum.

The temporal are palatines, caſtellans, and the great officers of ſtate. The palatines are the governors of provinces, who hold their offices for life; and in time of war, when the army of the republic is ſummoned, they levy and lead the force of their palatinates into the field, according to the tenure of feudal ſervices; in time of peace, they convoke the aſſemblies of the palatinates, and preſide in the county courts of juſtice. The Caſtellans are divided into Grand and Petty Caſtellans: their office, in time of peace, is merely nominal; but when the military or feudal ſervices are required, they are the lieutenants of the palatines, under whom they command the troops of the ſeveral diſtricts.

The miniſters of ſtate, who ſit in the ſenate, are ſixteen, the two great marſhals of Poland and Lithuania,

Lithuania, the two ſub-marſhals, the two great chancellors, the two vice-chancellors, the two great generals, the two little generals, the two great treaſurers, and the two ſub-treaſurers.

All the ſenators were formerly appointed by the king; but by the late change of government, his choice is reſtricted to one of three candidates preſented by the permanent council. The ſenators, once nominated, cannot be deprived of their charges, excepting by the diet. The third eſtate is formed by the nuntios or repreſentatives of the equeſtrian order, choſen in the dietines or aſſemblies of each palatinate, in which every noble or gentleman, at the age of eighteen, has a vote, and is capable of being elected. There is no qualification in point of property, either for the electors or elected; it is only neceſſary that the nuntio ſhould be a noble; that is, a perſon not engaged in trade or commerce, poſſeſſing land himſelf, the ſon of a perſon poſſeſſing land, or of an antient family which formerly poſſeſſed land. Each nuntio muſt be twenty-three years of age. When the diet aſſembles, the king, ſenate, and nuntios, firſt meet in the cathedral of Warſaw, and hear maſs and a ſermon. After ſervice, the members of the ſenate, or upper houſe, repair to the ſenate-houſe; and the nuntios, or lower-houſe to their chamber, where they chooſe, by a majority of voices,

a marſhal,

a marſhal, or ſpeaker of the equeſtrian order: to prevent unneceſſary delays, the election is required to take place within three days after their meeting*. Two days after the choice of their ſpeaker, the king, ſenate, and nuntios, aſſemble in the ſenate-houſe, which is called the junction of the two houſes. The nuntios then kiſs the king's hand; and the members of the diet take their places in the following order:

The king is ſeated, in regal ſtate, upon a raiſed throne, under a canopy at the upper end of the apartment. At the lower end, oppoſite the throne, ſit in armed chairs the miniſters of ſtate. The biſhops †, palatines, and caſtellans, are

* Formerly, it being ſtipulated that the election of the marſhal ſhould take place as ſoon as poſſible, much time uſually elapſed before a marſhal was choſen; and as the ſitting of the national aſſembly is confined to ſix weeks, ſometimes the nuntios could never agree in the choice, and ſeveral diets broke up without tranſacting buſineſs. Connor, who viſited Poland in John Sobieſki's reign, ſays upon this head, "He that deſigns to be elected marſhal, muſt treat the gentry all the while, otherwiſe he would have no vote for him; and commonly they prolong the election, that they may live the longer at the candidate's charges." V. II. p. 92.

To remedy this inconvenience, it was enacted in 1690, that the marſhal muſt be choſen on the firſt day of the meeting; but in 1768, the time allowed for the election was extended to three days. See Leng. J. P. II. p. 322. and Loix et Conſt. de 1768, p. 52.

† Including the archbiſhops of Gneſna and Vilna, each at the head of his reſpective ſuffragans.

The reader will find a print, which gives a faithful repreſentation of the diet, in Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, v. II. p. 82. One trifling error muſt be corrected, the ſeats marked 1111 are for the miniſters of ſtate, when not ſtanding near the throne.

ranged

ranged in three rows of armed chairs, extending from the throne on each ſide; and behind theſe are placed the nuntios upon benches covered with red cloth. The ſenators have the privilege of wearing their caps, but the nuntios are uncovered.

All the members being ſeated, the *Pacta Conventa* are read; when the ſpeaker of the equeſtrian order, as well as each nuntio, is empowered to interrupt the peruſal by remonſtrating againſt the infringement of any particular article, and demanding a redreſs of grievances. The great chancellor then propoſes the queſtions in the king's name; after which, his majeſty nominates three ſenators, and the ſpeaker ſix nuntios, to prepare the bills. The diet, by majority of voices, chooſes a committee to examine the accounts of the treaſury, and elect the members* of the permanent council.

Theſe preliminary tranſactions ought to be diſpatched in the ſpace of three weeks; at which period the two houſes ſeparate; the nuntios retire into their own chamber, and the bills undergo a diſcuſſion in each houſe. Thoſe which relate to the treaſury, are approved or rejected by the ſentiments of the majority. But in all ſtate-

* The equeſtrian members of the laſt permanent council are permitted to be preſent in this aſſembly without having a vote, until the reſolutions of the council are approved by the diet. The ſenators, who have a ſeat in the council, are preſent of courſe.

matters

matters* of the higheſt importance, no reſolution is valid, unleſs ratified by the unanimous aſſent of every nuntio, each of whom is able to ſuſpend all proceedings by his exertion of the *Liberum Veto.*

The diet muſt not ſit longer than ſix weeks: on the firſt day, therefore, of the ſixth week the ſenate and nuntios reaſſemble in the ſenate-houſe. The ſtate-bills (provided they are unanimouſly agreed to by the nuntios, an event which ſeldom happens in a free diet) are paſſed into laws; but if unanimity be wanting are rejected, and the buſineſs relating to the treaſury, which has been carried by a majority, is read and regiſtered.

At the concluſion of the ſixth week the laws are ſigned by the ſpeaker and nuntio, and the diet is diſſolved.

Extraordinary diets are ſubject to the ſame regulations as ordinary diets, with this difference,

* Matters of ſtate are thus defined by the conſtitution of 1768. 1. Increaſe or alteration of the taxes. 2. Augmentation of the army. 3. Treaties of alliance and peace with the neighbouring powers. 4. Declaration of war. 5. Naturalization and creation of nobility. 6. Reduction of the coin. 7. Augmentation or diminution in the charges of the tribunals, or in the authority of the miniſters of peace and war. 8. Creation of places. 9. Order of holding the diets or dietines. 10. Alterations in the tribunals. 11. Augmentation of the prerogatives of the ſenatus-conſulta. 12. Permiſſion to the king to purchaſe lands for his ſucceſſors. 13. Arrier-ban, or ſummoning the nobles to arms.

In all theſe caſes unanimity is requiſite. See Loix et Conſt. de la Diète de 1768, p. 46.

that

that they cannot, by the conſtitutions of 1768, continue longer than a fortnight. On the ſame day in which the two houſes aſſemble in the ſenate-houſe, the queſtions are to be laid before them, and the nuntios return immediately to their own chamber. On the thirteenth day, the two houſes are again united; and on the fifteenth, the laws being read and ſigned, the diet is diſſolved. The moſt extraordinary characteriſtic in the conſtitution of Poland, which diſtinguiſhes this government from all others, both in antient and modern times, is the *Liberum Veto*, or the power which each nuntio enjoys in a free diet*, not only like the tribunes of antient Rome, of putting a negative upon any law, but even of diſſolving the aſſembly.

This privilege is not found in any period of the Poliſh hiſtory, antecedent to the reign of John Caſimir. In 1652, when the diet of Warſaw was debating upon tranſactions of the utmoſt importance which required a ſpeedy determination, Sicinſki, nuntio of Upita in Lithuania, cried out, "I ſtop the proceedings†." Having uttered theſe words, he quitted the aſſembly, and repairing to the chancellor, proteſted, that

* A free diet, in which unanimity is requiſite, is diſtinguiſhed from a diet of confederacy, in which all buſineſs is carried by the majority.

† Leng. Jus Pub. v. II. p. 215.

as

as many acts had been carried contrary to the conſtitution of the republic, he ſhould conſider it as an infringement of the laws, if the diet continued to ſit. The members were thunderſtruck at a proteſt of this nature, hitherto unknown. Warm debates took place in regard to the propriety of continuing or diſſolving the diet; at length, the venal and diſcontented faction, who ſupported the proteſt, obtained the majority, and the aſſembly broke up in great confuſion.

This tranſaction changed entirely the conſtitution of Poland, and gave an unlimited ſcope to miſrule and faction. The following cauſes probably induced the Poles to acquieſce in eſtabliſhing the *Liberum Veto*, thus caſually introduced.

It was the intereſt of the great officers of ſtate, particularly the great general, the great treaſurer, and great marſhal, in whoſe hands were veſted the adminiſtration of the army, the finances, and the police, to abridge the ſittings of the diet. Theſe great officers of ſtate, being once nominated by the king, enjoyed their appointments for life, independent of his authority, and liable to no controul during the intervals of the diets, to which alone they were reſponſible. This powerful body ſtrongly eſpouſed the *Liberum Veto*; conſcious that they could eaſily, and at all times, ſecure a nuntio to proteſt, and by that means elude all enquiry into their adminiſtration.

By

By a fundamental law of the republic, nobles accuſed of certain capital crimes could only be brought to trial before the diet; and as many perſons ſtood under that deſcription, all theſe and their adherents favoured an expedient tending to diſſolve the only tribunal by which they could be convicted and puniſhed.

The exigencies of the ſtate, occaſioned by the continual wars in which Poland had been engaged, demanded, at this particular criſis, an impoſition of heavy taxes; and as the ſole power of levying pecuniary aids reſided in the diet, all the nuntios who oppoſed additional ſubſidies, ſeconded the propoſal for ſhortening the duration of the aſſembly.

The influence of the great neighbouring powers, intereſted to foment anarchy and confuſion in the Poliſh counſels. Before this period, if they wiſhed to form a cabal, and carry any point in the national aſſembly, they were obliged to ſecure a majority of votes; but under the new arrangement they were able to attain their end on much eaſier terms, and terminate any diet unfriendly to their views, by the corruption of a ſingle member.

The bad effects of the *Liberum Veto* were ſoon felt by the nation to ſuch an alarming degree, that all the members in the diet of 1670 bound themſelves by oath not to exert it, and even paſſed a reſolution that it ſhould be void of effect during the

the continuance of that meeting. Notwithſtanding theſe ſalutary precautions, one Zaborziſki, nuntio from the palatinate of Bratlau, interpoſing his negative, brought this very diet to a premature diſſolution*.

This *Liberum Veto* has been always conſidered by the moſt intelligent Poles as one of the principal cauſes which contributed to the decline of their country. From the æra of its eſtabliſhment public buſineſs has continually ſuffered the moſt fatal interruption; it abruptly broke up ſeven diets in the reign of John Caſimir, four under Michael, ſeven under John Sobieſki, and thirty during the reigns of the two Auguſti: ſo that, within the ſpace of 112 years, 48 diets have been precipitately diſſolved by its operation; during which period Poland has continued almoſt without laws, without juſtice, and, excepting the reign of John Sobieſki, with few ſymptoms of military vigour. Yet the Poles were ſo attached to this pernicious privilege, that in the act of confederacy, framed in 1696, after the deceaſe of John Sobieſki, the *Liberum Veto* is called the deareſt and moſt invaluable palladium of Poliſh liberty†.

But the Poles, ſenſible of the diſorders ariſing from the *Liberum Veto*, would have aboliſhed it,

* Zawodchi Hiſt. Arcana.

† Unicum et ſpecialiſſimum Jus Cardinale.

had they not been prevented by the partitioning powers, and it ſtill exiſts in its full force *. It ſhould be obſerved, that neither the king nor the ſenate, but only the nuntios, enjoy the power of interpoſing this negative upon the proceedings of the diet †.

In order to avoid the anarchy attendant upon free diets through the operation of the *Liberum Veto*, the Poles have lately had recourſe to diets by confederacy, which, though compoſed of the ſame members, and held under the ſame exterior forms as free diets, differ from them in the eſſential circumſtance of determining queſtions by plurality of votes. Theſe diets have

* It would appear, at firſt ſight, that by a regulation eſtabliſhed in the diet of 1768, the exertion of the *Liberum Veto* was in ſome inſtances reſtrained. "The abſence of a nuntio, who has interrupted the proceedings of the diet, ſhall be no hindrance to the tranſaction of treaſury matters." Loix et Conſt. de la Diète de Varſovie, 1768, p. 56. But this reſtriction of the *Liberum Veto*, in effect, is of no validity. For among the cardinal laws eſtabliſhed by the ſame diet, it is enacted, "that matters of ſtate cannot be paſſed but by a free diet and unanimous conſent;" p. 18. And again, "that after the treaſury buſineſs, matters of ſtate ſhall be brought forward, when the oppoſition of a ſingle nuntio ſhall ſtop all proceedings;" p. 56. And in another place, it is decreed, that in free diets, the *Liberum Veto* ſhall hold good in all matters of ſtate;" p. 44. When we recollect the definition of ſtate matters (Ch. 5.) we cannot but perceive, that the power of interpoſing a negative ſtill effectually exiſts; yet any limitation is of ſome ſervice, as it tends to the introduction of order. Since 1777, ſeveral free diets have been convened; but without effecting any material alteration.

† Lengnich ſays, the ſenators have the power of breaking up the diet; but he adds, they never make uſe of this privilege; Jus Pub. II. p. 46, which amounts to the ſame as not having it.

long

long been known to the conſtitution, and uſed upon extraordinary emergencies; but within theſe ten years have been regularly held at the ſtated time for ſummoning ordinary diets. Indeed, according to the true principles of the Poliſh government, no confederacy ought to be formed, excepting in defence of the king's perſon, upon any foreign invaſion or domeſtic conſpiracy, and during an interregnum at the diets of convocation and election*. Yet as no other means have been found to prevent perpetual anarchy, the nation ſubmits to an infringement of the conſtitution, which operates for the general good†.

The plain of Vola, where the kings of Poland are elected, is ſituated about three miles from the capital. In the midſt of the plain are two enclоſures, one for the ſenate, and the other for the nuntios. The former is of an oblong ſhape, ſurrounded by a kind of rampart, in the midſt of which is erected, at the time of election, a temporary building of wood, called *ſzopa*, covered at top and open at the ſides. Near it is the other enclоſure for the nuntios, of a circular

* It is decreed, however, by the code of 1768, that in every diet of convocation all ſtate matters muſt paſs unanimouſly, p. 58.

† But as it is enacted by the diet of 1768, that all matters of ſtate muſt be carried unanimouſly in free diets, I preſume that the diets by confederacy only tranſact the common buſineſs, without making any new laws, or repealing old ſtatutes.

ſhape, from which it derives the name of *kola* or circle, within is no building, the nuntios aſſembling in the open air. When the two chambers are joined, they meet within the *kola*; the ſenators chairs and the benches for the nuntios being ranged in the ſame order as in the ſenate-houſe at Warſaw, while the ſeat of the primate is placed in the center.

Upon the king's demiſe the regal authority is veſted in the archbiſhop of Gneſna primate of Poland, as interrex or regent; he announces the event by circular letters, convokes the dietines and diets of convocation, and performs the functions of royalty.

The diet of convocation is held at Warſaw, before the diet of election, and preſided by the primate, who ſits in an armed chair ſtationed in the middle of the ſenate-houſe. This diet iſſues acts or ordinances, arranges or changes the form of government, ſettles the *Pacta Conventa*, and appoints the meeting of the diet of election. The interval between the death of the king and the nomination of his ſucceſſor is uncertain, the duration depending upon the cabals of the candidates, or the pleaſure of thoſe foreign powers, who give law to Poland. It is always a ſtate of turbulence and licentiouſneſs, the kingdom is divided into parties and factions, juſtice is ſuſpended, and the nobles commit every diſorder with impunity.

Unanimity

Unanimity* being requiſite in all matters of ſtate, it is eaſy to conceive the delays and intrigues, the influence and corruption, employed to gain the members in the diet of convocation. All the points being adjuſted, whether the acts have paſſed unanimouſly or otherwiſe, the members, before their ſeparation, form a general confederacy to ſupport the reſolutions of the diet.

At the appointed day the diet of election is aſſembled, during which Warſaw and its environs is a ſcene of confuſion, and frequently of bloodſhed. The chief nobility have large bodies of troops in their ſervice, and repair to the diet attended by numerous vaſſals and a retinue of domeſtics; while each petty baron, who can afford to maintain them, parades about with his retainers and ſlaves.

On the day in which the diet of election is opened, the primate, ſenate, and nobility, repair to the cathedral of Warſaw, to hear maſs and a ſermon; from whence they proceed in due order to the plain of Vola. The ſenators enter the *ſzopa*, and the nuntios take their places within the *kola*; while the other nobles are ſta-

* This unanimity, in fact, does not exiſt; for the ſtrongeſt ſide forces the weaker to accede or to retire. Yet in the diet of 1768 it was enacted, that in the diets of convocation ſtate queſtions could only be carried unanimouſly. Several diets of convocation have been frequently aſſembled before all the affairs could be finally arranged.

tioned in the plain. The ſenate and nuntios, after paſſing their reſpective reſolutions, as in the ordinary diets, aſſemble in the *kola*, when the primate lays before them the objects for conſideration; the *Pácta Conventa*, ſettled at the diet of convocation, are confirmed, all neceſſary arrangements made, and the day of election appointed. The diet then gives audience to the foreign miniſters, who are permitted by recommendation to interfere in the choice of a king, and to the advocates of the ſeveral candidates. All theſe affairs occupy ſeveral days; and would never be terminated, if the aſſembly was not overawed by the foreign troops, who are always quartered near the plain of election.

On the day of election, the ſenate and nuntios aſſemble in the *kola*, while the nobles are ranged in the open field in ſeparate bodies, under the ſtandards of their reſpective palatinates, and led by the principal officers of each diſtrict on horſeback. The primate, after declaring the names of the candidates, kneels down and chants a hymn; the ſenators and nuntios join the gentry of their reſpective palatinates; and the primate, on horſeback, or in a carriage, goes round the plain to the different bodies of the gentry, and, having collected the votes, proclaims the ſucceſsful candidate.

On the following day the ſenate and nuntios return

return to the plain; the ſucceſsful candidate is again proclaimed, and a deputy diſpatched to acquaint him of his election, as no candidate is allowed to be preſent. After the proclamation, the nobles retire; and the diet, having appointed the diet of coronation, is diſſolved.

All elections are conteſted; not indeed upon the ſpot; for the terror of a neighbouring army compels the nobles to appear unanimous. But the parties who diſſent, retiring from the plain, remonſtrate; and if they are ſufficiently ſtrong, a civil war enſues. Indeed the confuſion, diſorder, and bloodſhed, which formerly attended theſe popular elections, would ſtill be renewed, if it were not for the interference of foreign troops. Thus the country draws ſome advantage from an evil which the Poles conſider as the diſgrace of every election.

CHAP. 6.

Finances and taxes of Poland.—Revenue of the king.—Commerce.—General exports and imports.—Low ſtate of trade.—Failure of the plan for opening the navigation of the Dnieſter.—Navigation of the Notez.—Military eſtabliſhment.—Corps of Ulans.—State of the army.—Confederacies.—Ruſſian troops.

AN extract from the proceedings of the diet of 1768, will ſhew the annual receipts and diſburſements before the partition: "The annual revenues of the treaſury of the crown*, amount to 10,748,245 florins (£. 298,562). The expences to 17,050,000. (£. 473,611). An increaſe of the revenues, therefore, is neceſſary, ſufficient to anſwer the exceſs of the expences above the receipts, namely, 6,301,755 florins (£. 175,048); but as part of the ancient revenues muſt be aboliſhed, the new taxes ſhould yield 10,236,737 florins (£. 284,353).

"The treaſury of Lithuania produces the annual ſum of 3,646,628 (£. 101,295): the expences amount to 6,478,142 (£. 179,948). The revenues therefore muſt be augmented 2,831,514 (£. 78,653). But as ſome ancient impoſts muſt

* Poland, excluſive of Lithuania.

be

be aboliſhed, the new taxes ſhould yield 4,250,481 (£. 118,068)*."

Poland, by the late diſmemberment, loſt nearly half the annual income; namely, the revenues of the ſtaroſties now occupied by the partitioning powers, the duties† upon merchandize ſent down the Viſtula to Dantzic, and the profits of the ſalt mines in Auſtrian Poland, of which thoſe of Wielitſka‡ alone amounted to 3,500,000 Poliſh florins (£. 97,222).

To ſupply this deficiency, the diet of 1775 new modelled the taxes, and made ſuch augmentations as rendered the produce of the revenue equal to its amount before the diſmemberment.

The principal articles of revenue are:

Poll-tax of the Jews. Each Jew, both male and female, infant and adult, pays three Poliſh florins, or about 1*s.* 8*d. per annum.*

A fourth of the ſtaroſties, or great fiefs of the crown. By the late change of government, the produce of theſe ſtaroſties, after the demiſe of the perſons now enjoying them, and of thoſe who have the reverſion, will be wholly appropriated to the expences of government.

Exciſe of beer, mead, and ſpirituous liquors diſtilled from corn.

* Loix et Conſt. de la Diète de 1768, p. 70.

† The greateſt part of theſe duties are now paid to the king of Pruſſia.

‡ See Book II. Chapter 2.

Monopoly

Monopoly of tobacco, and different duties upon importation and exportation. Formerly all the nobles were permitted to import and export foreign merchandize free of duty, a privilege which almoſt abſorbed the profits of the tax. In 1775 this right was aboliſhed, and all imported and exported commodities now pay duty. From the great quantity of foreign manufactures introduced into Poland, chiefly for the uſe of the nobility, this alteration makes a conſiderable addition to the revenues.

Tax upon chimnies. This tax, confined to Lithuania, before the partition, was, in 1775, rendered general, and conſiderably augmented: it is the moſt profitable of all the taxes, but lies very heavy upon the lower orders*. The peaſants pay no other tax to government, and conſidering their poverty, and the oppreſſion of their lords, this addition is more than they can well ſupport.

Theſe impoſts amount to 11,628,461 florins, or £. 323,012 ſterling.

The king received before the partition a net

* Each chimney is aſſeſſed in the following proportion: In palaces, or houſes of the chief nobility, at 16 Poliſh florins *per ann.* = about 8*s.* 2½*d.*; houſes of the principal merchants in Warſaw at 15 = 7 *s.* 7*d.*; other brick-houſes from 10 to 14 = from 5*s.* 7½*d.* to 7*s.* 3½*d.*; wooden houſes from 6 to 8 = from 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 6½*d.*; beſt houſes in other large towns 12 = 6*s.* 8*d.*; in the ſmall towns and villages from 6 to 8 = 3*s.* 4*d.* to 4*s.* 6½*d.*; peaſants cottages from 5 to 7 = 2*s.* 9½*d.* to 4*s.*

revenue

revenue of 7,000,000 Poliſh florins (£. 194,500) ariſing from the royal demeſnes and the profits of the ſalt-works. To indemnify him for the loſs of the ſalt-works, and the demeſnes ſituated in the diſmembered provinces, he draws from the public treaſury 2,666,666 florins (£. 74,074) which, in addition to the remaining royal demeſnes, and ſome ſtaroſties granted for his uſe, make his preſent income the ſame as before the diſmemberment. From this income he only pays his houſhold expences; the ſalary of the great officers of ſtate, and the other general expences being ſupplied from the public fund. The whole revenue of government, including the royal demeſnes and ſtaroſties lately granted to the king, amounts to 15,961,795 florins (£. 443,938) and by ſubſtracting the 2,666,666 florins appropriated to the king's privy purſe, there remains for the ſupport of the army, the ſalaries of the great officers of ſtate, and other general charges, 13,295,129 florins (£. 369,864) a ſum apparently unequal to the purpoſes for which it is deſigned. Yet it was nearly adequate to the ordinary current expences: for the regular army is ſmall, the great officers of ſtate are amply rewarded with the royal fiefs, which are numerous and profitable; each palatinate pays its own officers from its private treaſury; while the judges, juſtices of the peace, and other civil officers who enjoy territorial

territorial juriſdiction, may enrich themſelves ſufficiently by extortion without a ſalary *.

Poland contains ſeveral navigable rivers, which flow in all directions, and convey its exports to the havens of the Baltic. By means of the Viſtula and the tributary rivers, the productions of the palatinates of Cracow, Lublin, and Maſovia, are ſent to Thorn and Dantzic. By the Niemen the commodities of Lithuania are tranſported to Memmel, and by the Duna thoſe of Eaſtern Lithuania and White Ruſſia to Riga. The chief exports are all ſpecies of grain, hemp, flax, cattle, maſts, planks, timber for ſhip-building,

* Since this was written a material change took place in the finances, and both the receipt and expenditure were conſiderably augmented. The following ſtatement of the finances was given by count Moſyński, grand ſecretary of Lithuania, in his celebrated ſpeech to the diet on the 19th of April 1790:

RECEIPTS.

	Ancient taxes. Florins.	New taxes. Florins.	Amount. Florins.
Poland - -	14,557,145	13,680,161	28,237,306
Lithuania -	5,014,682	4,325,248	9,339,930
Total -	19,571,827	18,005,409	37,577,236

DISBURSEMENTS.

	The civil liſt, deducting the expences of the council.	The military eſtabliſhment of 65,074 men.	Sums.
Poland - -	6,263,246	23,546,442	29,809,688
Lithuania -	2,887,914	9,875,222	12,763,136
Total -	9,151,160	33,421,664	42,572,824

pitch

pitch and tar, honey, wax, tallow, pot-aſh, and leather: the imports are foreign wines, cloths, ſtuffs, manufactured ſilks and cotton, fine linen, hardware, tin, copper, ſilver and gold, glaſs ware, and furs.

From the various productions and great fertility of the ſoil, the trade might be carried to a conſiderable height; but many cauſes tend to ſuppreſs the ſpirit of commerce. The nobles are degraded if they engage in traffic. The burghers of the large towns are not ſufficiently rich to eſtabliſh manufactories, and either through want of induſtry, or dread of exceſſive extortions from the principal nobility, leave the retail-trade in the hands of foreigners and Jews. The inhabitants of the ſmall towns, who are expoſed to greater oppreſſions, are ſtill more diſqualified from purſuing any branch of commerce. The peaſants being ſlaves, and the property of their maſter, cannot remove from the place of their nativity without his conſent. John Albert, obſerving that commerce could never flouriſh while this reſtriction ſubſiſted, enacted, that one peaſant in a family ſhould be permitted to quit his village, either for the purpoſe of trade or literature; but the clauſe, by which they were enjoined to obtain the conſent of the lord, fruſtrated the purpoſe of this excellent law*.

* Stat. Reg. Pol. p. 169.

As

As the Poles draw from foreign countries the greater part of the manufactured goods neceſſary for interior conſumption, the ſpecie which is exported exceeds the imported more than 20,000,000 Poliſh florins, or £. 555,555.

Poland has been called the granary of the North; an appellation derived rather from the former than from the preſent produce. For the lands not being ſufficiently cultivated, the exportation of corn is not anſwerable to the nature of the ſoil, or the extent of its provinces, which, if properly improved, would be capable of ſupplying half Europe with grain. Several palatinates in Poland, particularly Podolia and Kiovia, are well ſuited to the production of grain; though many parts of theſe provinces remain uncultivated, yet the portion in tillage yields a greater ſupply than is neceſſary for the conſumption of the inhabitants. The only method of employing the overplus is to extract from it a ſpirituous liquor. But an ingenious Poliſh author* has ſhown, that the two provinces might ſend their corn down the Dnieſter through Turkiſh Moldavia, and open an intercourſe with the ports of the Black Sea, a project formerly in

* M. de Wiebitſki, a Poliſh gentleman of great learning and information. The treatiſe alluded to in this and other places of this work, is written in the Poliſh language, and called Patriotic Letters, addreſſed to the Chancellor Zamoiſki.

agitation. During the reign of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, Cardinal Commandon, in travelling through Podolia, firſt ſuggeſted the meaſure; and Sigiſmond, having obtained the concurrence of the grand Signor, diſpatched ſome Poles to explore the ſtate of the Dnieſter. But the ſurveyors meeting with ſome impediments from rocks and ſand-banks, declared, without further examination, that the river was not navigable, and though Commandon repreſented to the king, that the obſtacles might, without great difficulty, be ſurmounted; yet the project was poſtponed, and never revived*.

The ſame judicious author†, in touching upon this ſubject, laments the ignorance of his countrymen, and ridicules their precipitation in abandoning a plan ſo favourable to the improvement of their commerce. He ſhews, that the inattention of the Poles to the natural advantages of their country has been exemplified in a ſimilar inſtance. By means of the Notez, a river of Great Poland, which falls into the Oder, the Poles might convey grain into Sileſia, and down the Oder into other parts of Germany; but they never attempted the navigation, from an ill-founded perſuaſion of its not being practicable. No ſooner, however, had the king of Pruſſia acquired poſſeſſion of the country wa-

* Vie de Commandon. † M. de Wiebitſki.

tered

tered by the Notez, than it was inſtantly covered with veſſels.

The king has a corps of near 1,000 troops in his own pay, conſiſting chiefly of Ulans, or light horſe, who furniſh alternately his eſcort. Theſe Ulans are chiefly Tartars, many of them Mahometans, and are diſtinguiſhed for their fidelity. The corps is compoſed of gentlemen and vaſſals, who all form in ſquadron together, but are differently armed; they indiſcriminately carry both ſabres and piſtols, the gentlemen only bear lances of about ten feet long, the others are armed with carabines. Their dreſs is a high fur cap, a green and red jacket, pantaloons of the ſame colour, and a petticoat of white cloth deſcending to the knee. Their lances, which are decorated with a long ſwallow-tail flag of black and red cloth, are ſhorter and weaker than thoſe of the Auſtrian Croats; but they carry and uſe them in the ſame manner, and with no leſs dexterity. The men, though of different ſizes, ſeemed well grown. Their horſes were about fourteen hands high, of remarkable ſpirit, with great ſtrength of ſhoulder. Poland is much eſteemed for its horſes; and the king of Pruſſia procures his light cavalry from this country; the breed, however, has been almoſt ruined during the late civil wars, and the nobility are now chiefly ſupplied from Tartary.

The

The armies of Poland and Lithuania are independent of each other, and ſeparately commanded by the reſpective great generals. In time of war the king in perſon may lead the forces of the republic. Formerly the power of theſe great generals was uncontrouled, excepting by the diet, to which alone they were amenable. Their enormous authority, however, underwent ſome limitation in 1768, by the appointment of the committee of war, of which they are perpetual preſidents, and was ſtill further circumſcribed by the eſtabliſhment of the military department in the permanent council.

State of the Poliſh Army, in 1778.

Troops of Poland.

	Complement.	Effective men.	Wanting.
Staff officers - - -	27	27	—
Cavalry - - - -	4997	4708	289
Infantry, including artillery	7286	6703	583
Total of Poland	12310	11438	872

Army of Lithuania.

Staff officers - - -	25	25	—
Cavalry - - - - -	2670	2497	173
Infantry, including artillery	4770	4465	305
Total of Lithuania	7465	6987	478
Total of the Poliſh and Lithuanian troops,	19775	18425	1350*

* In 1790, when the Poles were preparing to eſtabliſh a new conſtitution, and to render themſelves independent of foreign powers, their army is ſtated by count Moſynſki to conſiſt of 65,074 men.

The ſtanding army being ſo inconſiderable, the defence of the country, in caſe of invaſion, is committed to the gentry, who are aſſembled by regular ſummons from the king, with the conſent of the diet. Every palatinate is divided into diſtricts, under proper officers, and every perſon poſſeſſing free and noble tenures is bound to military ſervice, either ſingly or at the head of a certain number of his retainers, according to the extent and nature of his poſſeſſions. The troops thus aſſembled are obliged only to ſerve for a limited time; and are not under the neceſſity of marching beyond the limits of their country. The mode of levying and maintaining this army is exactly ſimilar to that practiſed under the feudal ſyſtem. At preſent, though almoſt unfit for the purpoſes of repelling a foreign enemy, it is yet a powerful inſtrument in the hands of domeſtic faction; for the expedition with which it is raiſed under the feudal regulations, facilitates the formation of thoſe dangerous confederacies, which ſtart up on the conteſted election of a ſovereign, or whenever the nobles are at variance with each other.

There are two ſorts of confederacies. The firſt are thoſe formed with the conſent of the king, ſenate, or equeſtrian order, aſſembled in the diet; by which the whole nation confederates for the good of the country. The ſecond are the confederacies

confederacies of the ſeveral palatinates, which unite for the purpoſe of redreſſing grievances, or remonſtrating againſt encroachments of the ſovereign power. Theſe may be particular, or general, and are uſually the foreunners of a civil war. The general confederacy, which is always in oppoſition to the king, is called Rokoz, and formed by the union of the particular confederacies. As every Poliſh gentleman has a right to maintain as many troops as he chuſes, each palatinate is the ſcene of occaſional diſputes and petty contentions between the principal nobles, and ſometimes even between their reſpective retainers.

The Ruſſian troops have been ſo long quartered in this country, that they may almoſt be conſidered as forming part of the national army. The whole kingdom is entirely under the protection, or, in other words, under the power of the empreſs, who rules over it with the ſame unbounded authority as over one of her own provinces. The king is in effect little more than a viceroy; while the Ruſſian embaſſador has the real ſovereignty, and regulates all the affairs of the kingdom according to the direction of his court. The empreſs maintains within the country about 10,000 ſoldiers. Every garriſon is compoſed of Ruſſian and native troops; a thouſand of the former are ſtationed at Warſaw, and

each gate of the town is guarded by a Ruſſian and Poliſh centinel. The Ruſſian troops hold the nobles in ſubjection, and for the preſent prevent internal feuds and commotions. But when Poland (if ever that event ſhould happen) is again left to herſelf, the ſame fury of contending parties, now ſmothered, but not annihilated, will probably break out with redoubled fury, and again generate thoſe diſturbances which have long convulſed this unhappy kingdom; and to what a wretched ſtate is that country reduced, which owes its tranquillity to the interpoſition of a foreign army!

CHAP. 7.

Wretched ſtate of Poland.—Diviſion of the inhabitants into nobles or gentry, clergy, burghers, and peaſants.—State of vaſſalage.—Inſtances of a few nobles who have given liberty to their peaſants.—Advantages reſulting from that practice.—Jews.—Population of Poland.

POLISH liberty may be conſidered as the ſource of Poliſh wretchedneſs, and Poland appears to be of all countries, the moſt diſtreſſed. Nor indeed do the natives themſelves attempt to palliate or deny this melancholy fact. Expreſſing my ſurpriſe at one inſtance of the abuſe of liberty, to which I had been myſelf a witneſs, to a perſonage * well verſed in the laws of the country, he returned for anſwer, "If you knew the confuſion and anarchy of our conſtitution, you would be ſurpriſed at nothing: many grievances neceſſarily exiſt even in the beſt regulated ſtates; what then muſt be the caſe in ours, which of all governments is the moſt deteſtable? Another lamenting the dreadful ſituation of his country, ſaid to me, "The name of Poland ſtill remains, but the nation no longer exiſts: univerſal corruption and venality pervade all ranks of people. Many of the firſt nobility do not bluſh to receive penſions from foreign

* The king.

courts; one profeſſes himſelf publicly an Auſtrian, a ſecond a Pruſſian, a third a Frenchman, and a fourth a Ruſſian."

The preſent ſituation of the Poliſh nation impreſſed my mind with pathetic ideas of fallen greatneſs; and I could not behold, without a mixture of regret and ſympathy, a people, who formerly gave law to the north, reduced to ſo low a ſtate of weakneſs and miſery. The nation has few manufactures, ſcarcely any commerce; a king almoſt without authority; the nobles in a ſtate of uncontrouled anarchy; the peaſants groaning under a yoke of feudal deſpotiſm worſe than the tyranny of an abſolute monarch. I never before obſerved ſuch an inequality of fortune, ſuch a ſudden tranſition from extreme riches to extreme poverty; wherever I turned my eyes, luxury and wretchedneſs were conſtant neighbours.

The inhabitants of Poland are nobles, clergy, citizens, and peaſants.

We ſhould be greatly deceived if we were to underſtand the word *noble* in our ſenſe of that term. By the laws of Poland, a noble is a perſon who poſſeſſes a freehold * eſtate, or who can prove

* Some citizens have the right of poſſeſſing lands within a league of the town which they inhabit; but theſe lands are not free and noble, and are always diſtinguiſhed from the freeholds of the nobles; the latter are called in the ſtatute law *terrigenæ*, or earth-born, free

prove his deſcent from anceſtors formerly poſſeſſing a freehold, following no trade or commerce, and at liberty to chuſe the place of his habitation. This deſcription includes all perſons above burghers and peaſants. The members of this body below the rank of ſenators are called, in a collective ſtate, the equeſtrian order, and in their individual capacities, nobles, gentlemen, freemen, or land-holders, which appellations are ſynonymous.

All the nobles or gentry are, in the ſtrict letter of the law, equal by birth; ſo that honours and titles are ſuppoſed to add nothing to their real dignity *. By means of their repreſentatives in the diet, they have a ſhare in the legiſlative authority; in ſome caſes, as in the election of a king, they aſſemble in perſon; each noble is capable of being elected a nuntio, of bearing the office of a ſenator, and of preſenting himſelf as a candidate on a vacancy of the throne. No noble can be arreſted without previous conviction, except in caſes of high treaſon, murder, and robbery on the highway, and then muſt be taken

free to live where they pleaſe, to diſtinguiſh them from perſons neceſſarily inhabiting towns, a true feudal diſtinction. They are alſo ſtyled *indigenæ* or natives, and *concives* or fellow-citizens of the republic. Leng. Jus Pub. I. p. 297.

* It is particularly ſtipulated, that titles give no precedence; which is called in the Pacta Conventa of Auguſtus III. "Jus æqualitatis inter cives regni," &c.

in the fact. The definition of a noble being thus applied not only to perſons actually poſſeſſing land, but even to the deſcendants of landholders, comprehends ſo large a body of men, that many are in a ſtate of extreme indigence; and as they loſe their nobility if they follow trade or commerce, the moſt needy generally devote themſelves to the ſervice of the richer nobles, who, like the old feudal barons, are conſtantly attended by numerous retainers. As all nobles, without diſtinction, enjoy the right of voting, as well for the choice of nuntios, as at the election of a king, their poverty and their number are frequently productive of great inconvenience. Hence the king, who has juſtly conceived a great veneration for the Engliſh conſtitution, ineffectually wiſhed to introduce into the new code a law ſimilar to ours relating to county elections, that no perſon ſhould be entitled to a vote in the choice of a nuntio but thoſe who poſſeſs a certain qualification in land *.

Miciſlaus, the firſt ſovereign of Poland who

* Connor mentions a ſimilar attempt of John Caſimir, which failed of ſucceſs. "King Caſimir obſerving the great abuſes that ſpring from every little gentleman's pretended privilege to ſit in the little diets, ordered that none ſhould have a vote there, in electing a deputy or nuntio, but ſuch only as had at leaſt two hundred crowns a year; whereupon the palatine of Poſnania, offering to put this law in execution in his province, was not only affronted, but alſo narrowly eſcaped with his life." Hiſt. of Poland, v. II. p. 194.

embraced

embraced Chriſtianity, 966, granted ſeveral immunities and eſtates to the clergy. His ſucceſſors and the rich nobles followed his example, and the wealth of this body continued increaſing from royal and private donations, until the diet, apprehenſive leſt in proceſs of time the greater part of the eſtates ſhould paſs into the hands of the clergy, forbad by different laws, particularly in 1669, the alienation of lands to the church, under penalty of forfeiture; and ſeveral eſtates have been recently confiſcated, which were beſtowed upon the clergy ſince that period.

From the time of the firſt eſtabliſhment of the catholic religion by cardinal Ægidius, nuntio from pope John XII. the biſhops have been admitted into the ſenate as king's counſellors. They were uſually appointed by the crown, and confirmed by the pope; but, ſince the creation of the permanent council, are nominated by the king from three candidates preſented by the council: a biſhop is of courſe entitled to all the privileges of a ſenator. The archbiſhop of Gneſna is primate, the firſt ſenator in rank, and viceroy during an interregnum.

The eccleſiaſtics are all freemen, and, in ſome particular inſtances, have three own courts of juſtice, in which the canon law is adminiſtered. 1. The conſiſtorial, under the juriſdiction of each biſhop in his dioceſe; 2. The metropolitan, under

under the primate, to which an appeal lies from the biſhop's court; 3. That of the pope's nuntio, the ſupreme eccleſiaſtical judicature within the kingdom, to which an appeal may be made from the deciſions of the biſhop and primate. In caſes of divorce, diſpenſations for marriages, and in other inſtances, the parties, as in all catholic countries, muſt apply to the pope, by which means no inconſiderable ſum of money is drawn out of the country by the ſee of Rome*.

In moſt civil affairs the clergy are amenable to the ordinary courts of juſtice. In criminal cauſes, an eccleſiaſtic is arreſted by the civil powers, then judged in the conſiſtory, and, if convicted, remitted to the civil power for puniſh-

* The facility of acquiring divorces occaſions great diſſoluteneſs of morals. "I am almoſt afraid," obſerves Mr. Wraxall, in his entertaining account of the court of Warſaw, "to relate what I ſee and know on this point, ſo incredible it may appear. If infidelity to the nuptial bed was alledged and proved, it might be admitted as a legitimate cauſe for ſeparations; but hardly any reaſons are aſſigned or required, except mutual incompatibility, diſlike, or wearineſs in the parties. Women of irreproachable manners and conduct, young, beautiful, and highly born, are divorced at the end of three or four years; of a year, nay, of a few months. Should it be requiſite to adduce inſtances in ſupport of my aſſertion, almoſt every week offers them here in abundance." After enumerating ſeveral other inſtances, he adds, "In any other country practices ſo repugnant to every principle of morals, would ſoon be prevented. But in Poland the reſtraints of law, as well as the ties of honour and decorum, are exceedingly weakened in their operation." Wraxall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, Warſaw, &c. Vol. II. 109. 110.

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ment. A great eccleſiaſtical abuſe, which has been aboliſhed in moſt other catholic countries, ſtill exiſts in this kingdom: when the pope ſends a bull into Poland, the clergy publiſh and carry it into execution, without the approbation of the civil power. Before 1538 eccleſiaſtics were allowed to hold civil employments; but in that year prieſts were declared incapable of filling ſecular offices. They were alſo exempted from paying taxes; but this exemption being wiſely aboliſhed, they are now rated in the ſame manner as the laity; yet their contributions are not called taxes, but charitable ſubſidies.

The next claſs of people are the burghers, inhabiting towns, whoſe privileges were formerly very conſiderable.

The hiſtory of all countries, in which the feudal ſyſtem has been eſtabliſhed, bears teſtimony to the pernicious policy of holding the lower claſſes of men in a ſtate of ſlaviſh ſubjection. In proceſs of time, a concurrence of cauſes contributed gradually to ſoften the rigour of this ſervitude, with regard to the burghers, in ſeveral of the feudal kingdoms. Among other circumſtances, the moſt favourable was the formation of cities into bodies politic, with the privilege of exerciſing municipal juriſdiction. This inſtitution took its riſe in Italy, the firſt country in Europe which emerged from barbariſm, and was transferred

transferred to France and Germany. It was firſt introduced into Poland about 1250, during the reign of Boleſlaus the Chaſte, who being inſtructed in the Teutonic or German laws by Henry the bearded, duke of Wratiſlaw, granted firſt to Cracow, and afterwards to ſeveral other towns, the privileges poſſeſſed by the German cities. This body of rights is called in the ſtatutes of Poland *Jus Magdeburgicum et Teutonicum*; and the cauſe aſſigned for its introduction is, that no city could flouriſh and increaſe under the feudal laws *. In the thirteenth and following centuries the kings and great barons built ſeveral towns, to which they granted a charter of incorporation, conceived in theſe terms †; "*Transfero hanc villam ex jure Polonico in jus Teutonicum.*" The beneficial tendency of this political regulation ſoon appeared, by a ſudden increaſe of population and wealth; the burghers of the principal free towns acquired ſuch a degree of importance and conſideration, as to give their aſſent to treaties, and ſend deputies to the national aſſembly; a noble was not degraded by being a burgher, and a burgher was capable of holding an office under the crown. A treaty ‡ concluded by Caſimir the Great with the knights of the Teutonic order, was not only ſigned by the king and the principal nobles, but alſo by the burghers

* Leng. Jus Pub. p. 524. † Cromer.
‡ Dlugoſſius, L. IX. p. 1067.

of

of Cracow, Poſen, Sandomir, and other towns, and under the ſame monarch Wierneſk *, burgomaſter of Cracow, was ſub-marſhal and treaſurer of the crown.

The burghers enjoyed the privileges during the Jaghellon line, as appears from the different acts of Sigiſmond and his ſon. During the reign of Sigiſmond, the nobles endeavouring to exclude the deputies of Cracow from the diet, the king not only confirmed the right of the city to ſend repreſentatives, but even decreed, that the citizens were included within the claſs of nobles †.

When the crown became wholly elective, the privileges of the burghers ſuffered encroachments at every nomination of a new ſovereign; they loſt the right of poſſeſſing lands, excepting within a ſmall diſtance of the towns, of ſending deputies to the diets, and were excluded from all ſhare of the legiſlative authority. As the burghers were not obliged, by the nature of their tenures,

* Wierneſk was ſo rich, that in 1363, when the emperor Charles IV. married at Cracow Elizabeth grand daughter of Caſimir, he gave a moſt ſumptuous entertainment to his ſovereign, to the emperor, the kings of Hungary, Denmark, Cyprus, and other princes, who were preſent at the marriage: beſide other magnificent gifts which he beſtowed upon the company, he preſented Caſimir with a ſum equal to the portion of the bride. Cromer, p. 324.

† Conſules Cracovienſes, &c. debere et poſſe omnibus conſiliis, quibus alii nuntii terreſtres aderunt, &c. more ſolito conſultari. Statuta Pol. p. 8. Cracovia eſt incorporata et unita nobilitati; ib. terrarumque civitatumque nuntii, p. 353.

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to march againſt the enemy, but only furniſhed arms and waggons for the uſe of the army, they incurred the contempt of the warlike gentry, who, in the true ſpirit of feudal arrogance, conſidered all occupations, except that of war, as beneath a freeman, and all perſons, not bound to military ſervices, as unqualified for the adminiſtration of public affairs.

The burghers, however, ſtill enjoy a conſiderable portion of freedom, and poſſeſs ſeveral immunities: they elect their own burgo-maſter and council, regulate their interior police, and have their own criminal courts of juſtice, which decide without appeal. A burgher, when plaintiff againſt a noble, is obliged to carry the cauſe into the courts of juſtice belonging to the nobles, where the judgment is final; when defendant, he muſt be cited before the magiſtrates of his own town, from whence an appeal lies only to the king in the aſſeſſorial tribunal. To this exemption from the juriſdiction of the nobles, though only in one ſpecies of cauſes, the burghers owe the degree of independence which they ſtill retain; as without this immunity they would have long been reduced to a ſtate of vaſſalage.

The peaſants in Poland, as in all feudal governments, are ſerfs or ſlaves, and the value of an eſtate is not eſtimated from its extent, but from the number of the peaſants, who are transferred from one maſter to another like cattle.

The

The peaſants, however, are not all in an equal ſtate of ſubjection: they are diſtinguiſhed into two ſorts; 1. German; 2. Natives.

1. During the reign of Boleſlaus the Chaſte, and more particularly in that of Caſimir the Great, many Germans ſettled in Poland, who were indulged in the uſe of the German laws *, and their deſcendants ſtill continue to enjoy ſeveral privileges not poſſeſſed by the generality of Poliſh peaſants. The good effects of theſe privileges are viſible in the general ſtate of their domeſtic œconomy; their villages are better built, and fields better cultivated, than thoſe belonging to the native Poles; they poſſeſs more cattle, pay their quit-rents to their lords with greater exactneſs, and are cleaner and neater in their perſons.

2. The ſlavery of the Poliſh peaſants is very antient, and was always extremely rigorous. Until the time Caſimir the Great, the lord could put his peaſant to death with impunity, and, when the latter had no children, conſidered himſelf as heir, and ſeized all his effects. In 1347, Caſimir preſcribed a fine for the murder of a peaſant, and enacted, that, in caſe of his deceaſe without iſſue, his next heir ſhould inherit †. He alſo decreed, that a peaſant was capable of bearing arms, and therefore ought to be conſidered as a freeman.

* Lubienſki, p. 108. Florus Pol. p. 118. Cromer, 319.
† Stat. Pol. I. p. 24.

But

But theſe and other regulations, by which that amiable monarch endevoured to alleviate the miſeries of the vaſſals, proved ineffectual againſt the power and tyranny of the nobles, and have been either abrogated or eluded. That law, which gives the property of a peaſant dying without iſſue to the next of kin, was rendered nugatory by an old Poliſh maxim, "That no ſlave can carry on a proceſs againſt his maſter;" and even the fine for his murder was ſeldom levied, on account of the numerous difficulties attending the conviction of a noble. So far indeed from being inclined to ſoften the ſervitude of their vaſſals, the nobles have eſtabliſhed it by repeated ordinances. An able Poliſh writer, in a benevolent treatiſe * addreſſed to the chancellor Zamoiſki, obſerves, that the ſtatutes contain above an hundred laws unfavourable to the peaſants, which among other grievances, erect ſummary tribunals ſubject to no appeals, and impoſe the ſevereſt penalties upon thoſe who quit their villages without leave. From theſe numerous and rigorous edicts to prevent the elopement of the peaſants, the ſame humane author juſtly infers the extreme wretchedneſs of this oppreſſed claſs of men, who cannot be detained in the place of their nativity but by the terror of the ſevereſt puniſhment.

* Patriotic Letters.

The

The native peaſants may be divided into two ſorts: 1. Peaſants of the crown; 2. Peaſants belonging to individuals.

1. Peaſants of the crown are thoſe who are ſettled in the great fiefs of the kingdom, or in the royal demeſnes, and are under the juriſdictions of the ſtaroſts. If the crown-peaſants are oppreſſed by theſe judges, they may lodge a complaint in the royal courts of juſtice; and, ſhould the ſtaroſt endeavour to obſtruct the proceſs, the king can order the chancellor to iſſue a ſafe-conduct, taking the injured perſon under his protection. Although in moſt caſes the corrupt adminiſtration of juſtice, and the ſuperior influence of the ſtaroſts, prevent a complainant from obtaining effectual redreſs even in the king's courts; yet, the very poſſibility of procuring relief is ſome check to injuſtice, and ſome alleviation of diſtreſs.

2. Peaſants belonging to individuals are at the abſolute diſpoſal of their maſter, and have ſcarcely any poſitive ſecurity, either for their properties or their lives. Until 1768 the ſtatutes of Poland exacted only a fine from a lord who killed his ſlave; but in that year a decree paſſed, by which the murder of a peaſant was a capital crime; yet, as the law requires ſuch an accumulation of evidence* as can ſeldom be obtained,

* The murderer muſt be taken in the fact, which muſt be proved by two gentlemen or four peaſants, otherwiſe he only pays a fine.

it has more the appearence than the reality of protection.

How deplorable muſt be the ſtate of that country, when a law of ſuch a nature was thought requiſite to be enacted, yet is found incapable of being enforced! The generality, indeed, of the Poliſh nobles are not inclined either to eſtabliſh or give efficacy to any regulations in favour of the peaſants, whom they ſcarcely conſider as entitled to the common rights of humanity. A few nobles, however, of benevolent hearts and enlightened underſtandings, have acted upon different principles, and given liberty to their vaſſals. The event has ſhowed this project to be no leſs judicious than humane; no leſs friendly to their own intereſts than to the happineſs of their peaſants; for it appears that in the diſtricts in which the new arrangement has been introduced, the population of the villages is conſiderably increaſed, and the incomes of the eſtates augmented in a triple proportion.

The firſt noble who granted freedom to his peaſants was Zamoiſki, formerly great chancellor, who in 1760 enfranchiſed ſix villages in the palatinate of Maſovia. Theſe villages were, in 1777, viſited by the author of the Patriotic Letters, from whom I received the following information: On inſpecting the pariſh-regiſters of births from 1750 to 1760, that is, during the ten years of ſlavery immediately preceding their enfranchiſe-

enfranchiſement, he found the births 434; in the firſt ten years of their freedom, from 1760 to 1770, 620; and from 1770 to the beginning of 1777, 585. By theſe extracts it appeared, that during the

Firſt period there were only	43 births	each year.
Second period - - -	62	
Third period - - -	77	

If we ſuppoſe an improvement of this ſort to take place throughout the kingdom, how great would be the increaſe of national population!

The revenues of the ſix villages, ſince their enfranchiſement, have been augmented in a much greater proportion than their population. In the ſtate of vaſſalage Zamoiſki was obliged, according to the cuſtom of Poland, to build cottages and barns for his peaſants, and to furniſh them with ſeed, horſes, ploughs, and every implement of agriculture: ſince their enfranchiſement they are become ſo eaſy in their circumſtances, as to provide themſelves with all theſe neceſſaries at their own expence, and they likewiſe cheerfully pay an annual rent in lieu of the manual labour formerly exacted by their maſter. By theſe means the receipts of this particular eſtate have been nearly tripled.

On ſigning the deed of enfranchiſement of the ſix villages, their benevolent maſter intimated ſome apprehenſions to the inhabitants,

leſt, encouraged by their freedom, they ſhould fall into every ſpecies of licentiouſneſs, and commit more diſorders than when they were ſlaves. The ſimplicity and good ſenſe of their anſwer is remarkable; "When we had no other property," returned they, "than the ſtick which we hold in our hands, we were deſtitute of all encouragement to a right conduct, and, having nothing to loſe, acted on all occaſions in an inconſiderate manner; but now that our houſes, our lands, and our cattle, are our own, the fear of forfeiting them will be a conſtant reſtraint upon our actions." The ſincerity of this aſſertion was manifeſted by the event. While they were in a ſtate of ſervitude, Zamoiſki paid occaſional fines for diſorders* committed by his peaſants, who, in a ſtate of drunkenneſs, would attack and ſometimes kill paſſengers: ſince their freedom he has ſeldom received any complaints againſt them. Zamoiſki, pleaſed with the thriving ſtate of the ſix villages, has enfranchiſed the peaſants on all his eſtates.

This example has been followed by Chreptowitz, vice-chancellor of Lithuania, and the abbé Bryzotowſki, with ſimilar ſucceſs. I was informed by a perſon who had viſited the abbé's eſtate at Pawlowo near Vilna, that the happy countenance and comfortable air of theſe peaſants

* Called, in the Poliſh law, Pro incontinentiâ ſubditorum.

ſants made them appear a different race of men from the wretched tenants of the neighbouring villages. The peaſants, penetrated with a ſenſe of their maſter's kindneſs, have erected, at their own expence, a pillar with an inſcription expreſſive of their gratitude and affection.

Prince Staniſlaus, nephew of the king, has warmly patronized the plan of giving liberty to the peaſants. His own good ſenſe and natural humanity, improved during his reſidence in England, by a view of that equal liberty which pervades every rank of men, have raiſed him above the prejudices too prevalent among his countrymen: he has enfranchiſed four villages not far from Warſaw, in which he has not only emancipated the peaſants from their ſlavery, but even condeſcends to direct their affairs. I had the honour of holding ſeveral converſations with him upon this ſubject: he explained to me, in the moſt ſatisfactory manner, that the grant of freedom was no leſs advantageous to the lord than to the peaſant, provided he is willing to ſuperintend their conduct for a few years; for ſuch is the ignorance of the generality among the boors, ariſing from their abject ſlavery, and ſo little have they been uſually left to their own diſcretion, that few at firſt are equal to the proper management of a farm. From a conviction of theſe facts, the prince, whoſe knowledge and

benevolence I ſhall ever revere, continues his attention to their concerns: he viſits their cottages, ſuggeſts improvements in agriculture, inſtructs them in the mode of rearing cattle and bees, and points out the errors into which ignorance and incapacity occaſionally betray them.

The example of this prince, great by his rank, but ſtill greater by his humanity, can ſcarcely fail of producing its due effect; eſpecially as he intends giving to the public a particular account of his arrangements and regulations, and will ſhew how much he has increaſed the value of his eſtate as well as the happineſs of his peaſants. Still the condition of theſe peaſants is not permanent; for though a lord grants their freedom, yet he cannot entail it upon them, as his ſucceſſor may again reduce them to their original ſtate of vaſſalage. It is, however, in agitation to ſecure the perpetuity of their liberty, when they are once rendered free; but this meaſure is of ſo delicate a nature, that it muſt be introduced with great caution, and can only be the gradual work of time.

In ſtating the different claſſes of inhabitants, the Jews muſt not be omitted. This people date their introduction into Poland about the time of Caſimir the Great, and as they enjoy privileges which they ſcarcely poſſeſs in any other country, excepting England and Holland, their numbers

have

have ſurprizingly increaſed. Lengnich ſays of them, they "monopolize* the commerce and trade of the country, keep the inns and taverns, are ſtewards to the nobility, and ſeem to have ſo much influence, that nothing can be bought or ſold without the intervention of a Jew." Under John Sobieſki they were highly favoured, and his adminiſtration was invidiouſly called a Jewiſh junto: he farmed to the Jews the royal demeſnes; and placed ſuch confidence in them as raiſed great diſcontents among the nobility. After his death, an antient law of Sigiſmond the Firſt was revived, and inſerted in the *Pacta Conventa* of Auguſtus the Second, that no Jew or perſon of low birth ſhould be capable of farming the royal revenues.

In ſome towns, as at Caſimir, Poſen, &c. the Jews are permitted to ſettle, in other places are only allowed to reſide during the time of fairs, or when the dietines are aſſembled; but the laws are ſeldom put in force againſt them. According to the laſt capitation there were 166,871 Jews in Poland, excluſive of Lithuania, who paid the poll-tax; but this cannot be their full complement, as it is their intereſt to conceal the number of their children as much as poſſible.

* Pac. Con. Aug. III. p. 128.

Before the late partition, Poland contained near 14,000,000 inhabitants*, and the present population amounts to 9,000,000.

It is not unworthy of obſervation, that while the feudal laws have been gradually aboliſhed in other nations, and given place to a more regular and juſt adminiſtration, yet in Poland a variety of circumſtances has concurred to preſerve that mixture of liberty and oppreſſion, order and anarchy, which characterized the feudal government. We may eaſily trace in this conſtitution all the ſtriking features of that ſyſtem; an elective monarchy with a circumſcribed power; the great officers of ſtate poſſeſſing their charges for life, and independent of the king's authority; royal fiefs; the great nobility above controul;

* Buſching gives an eſtimate of the population of Poland ſince the partition. Hiſt. Mag. vol. XVI. p. 28.

Males			4,396,969
Females			4,298,083
Eccleſiaſtics	Secular	18,369	
	Regular	10,189	31,137
	Nuns	2,579	
Jews	Males	300,612	
	Females	300,867	601,479
	Total number of inhabitants		9,327,668

According to a ſtatement in the Hamburgh Political Journal for 1797, Poland, after the firſt diſmemberment, contained 7,705,972. Of her population on the final partition of the whole country, in 1795, the Ruſſian diſtrict contained 4,592,544 ſouls; the Pruſſian, 2,075,686; the Auſtrian, 1,037,742.

the

the nobles or gentry alone free and poſſeſſing lands; feudal tenures, military ſervices, and territorial juriſdiction; commerce degrading; oppreſſed condition of the burghers; vaſſalage of the peaſants. In the courſe of this book I have mentioned moſt of theſe evils as ſtill exiſting in Poland, and they may be conſidered as the radical cauſes of its decline; for they have prevented the Poles from adopting thoſe ſtable regulations, which tend to introduce order and good government, to augment commerce, and increaſe population.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Auſtrian Poland.—Limits of the diſmembered province.—Population and productions.—Cracow.—Univerſity.—Palace.—Citadel occupied by the confederates in the late troubles.—Hiſtory of that tranſaction.—Cathedral.—Tombs and characters of ſeveral Poliſh ſovereigns.

JULY 24, 1778. We entered Poland juſt beyond Bilitz, having croſſed the rivulet Biala, which falls into the Viſtula, and purſued our journey to Cracow through the territories which the houſe of Auſtria ſecured in the late partition.

This ceded country has, ſince the partition, changed its name, and is now incorporated with the Auſtrian dominions, under the appellation of the kingdoms of Galicia and Lodomeria, which ſome antient diplomes repreſent as ſituated in Poland, and ſubject to the kings of Hungary. But the moſt convincing proof that ſuch kingdoms exiſted, and ought by virtue of an hereditary though dormant title, to revert to the empreſs as ſovereign of Hungary, was derived from the Auſtrian army; for what people can reſiſt an argument backed by 200,000 troops, unleſs

leſs they can defend their ſide of the queſtion by an equal number?

The importance of this acquiſition to the houſe of Auſtria will appear from the number of inhabitants, which, in 1776*, amounted to 2,580,796. The mountainous parts of Galicia and Lodomeria produce fine paſture; the plains, are moſtly ſandy, but abound in foreſts, and are fertile in corn. The principal articles of traffic are cattle, hides, wax, and honey, and theſe countries contain mines of copper, lead, iron, and ſalt.

We croſſed only a narrow ſlip of Auſtrian Poland, 86 miles in length from Bilitz to Cracow, leaving on our right hand a chain of mount Crapak, or the antient Carpathian mountains. The country was at firſt ſomewhat hilly, but afterwards level, and covered with foreſts. The roads were bad, the villages few and wretched, beyond deſcription, the hovels, all built of wood, full of filth and miſery, and every thing wore the appearance of extreme poverty.

July 25. At noon we arrived at the Viſtula, the ſouthern banks of which form the limits of the Auſtrian dominions. This river being marked in the partition treaty as forming the limits between the Auſtrian and Poliſh territories,

* Comp. Regn. Sclavoniæ, Galiciæ, Lodomeriæ, &c. p. 66, note *m*.

the

the houſe of Auſtria at firſt conſtrued the Viſtula to mean the old channel of that river now dry, called the Old Viſtula; and by force of this ſtrained interpretation included Caſimir in the diſmembered province; but ſoon afterwards the empreſs reſtored Caſimir to the Poles, and accepted the Viſtula as the boundary of her dominions.

Having entered Caſimir by croſſing the Viſtula over a bridge, at one end of which was an Auſtrian, and at the other a Poliſh centinel, we paſſed the dry channel, termed the Old Viſtula, by a ſecond bridge, and arrived at Cracow.

Cracow was formerly the capital of Poland, where the kings were elected and crowned, and once almoſt the center of the Poliſh dominions; but is now a frontier town. It ſtands in an extenſive plain, watered by the Viſtula, which is broad but ſhallow: the city and ſuburbs occupy a large tract of ground, but ſcarcely contain 16,000* inhabitants. Many of the ſtreets are broad and handſome; the great ſquare is very ſpacious, and has ſeveral well-built houſes, once richly furniſhed and well inhabited, but moſtly now either untenanted, or in a ſtate of melancholy decay. Almoſt every building bears ſtriking marks of ruined grandeur; the churches alone ſeem to preſerve their original ſplendour. The

* The city, excluſive of the ſuburbs, contained in 1778 only 8894 ſouls.

devaſtation

devaſtation of this unfortunate city was begun by the Swedes at the commencement of the preſent century, when it was beſieged and taken by Charles XII.; but the miſchiefs it ſuffered from that ravager of the North, were far leſs deſtructive than thoſe experienced during the late dreadful commotions, when it underwent repeated ſieges, and was alternately in poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians and Confederates. The effects of cannon, grape, and muſket-ſhot, are ſtill diſcernible on the walls and houſes. In a word, Cracow exhibits the remains of a magnificent capital in ruins: from the number of fallen and falling houſes, it appears like a town recently ſacked and deſerted by the enemy. The town is ſurrounded with high walls of brick, ſtrengthened by round and ſquare towers, of whimſical ſhapes, in the antient ſtyle of fortification, which were built by Venceſlaus* king of Bohemia, during the ſhort period in which he reigned over Poland.

In Cracow is a Ruſſian garriſon of 600 men, who are ſtationed at the guard-houſe in the center of the town: at all the gates a Ruſſian centinel ſtands on one ſide, and a Poliſh on the other; the citadel is wholly occupied by Ruſſian troops.

The univerſity was founded and endowed by Caſimir the Great, and improved and completed

* Cracoviam muro circumdedit. Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 10.

by

by Ladiſlaus Jaghellon: the number of ſtudents amounts to about 600; the library is not remarkable either for the number or rarity of the books. Among the principal objects of attention, the librarian pointed out a Turkiſh book, of no intrinſic value; but eſteemed a curioſity becauſe found among the ſpoils at the battle of Chotzim, and preſented by John Sobieſki to the univerſity, as the memorial of a victory which ſaved his country from deſolation, and raiſed him to the throne of Poland. This univerſity was formerly, and not unjuſtly, called the mother of Poliſh literature, as it principally ſupplied the other ſeminaries with profeſſors and men of learning; but its luſtre has been greatly obſcured by the removal of the royal reſidence to Warſaw, and ſtill more by the late inteſtine convulſions.

In this city the art of printing was firſt introduced into Poland by Haller; and one of the earlieſt books that iſſued from his preſs, was the conſtitutions and ſtatutes compiled by Caſimir the Great, and augmented by his ſucceſſors. The characters are Gothic, the ſame as were univerſally uſed at the invention of printing; the great initial letters are wanting. The year in which this compilation was printed is not poſitively known; but the publication was anterior to 1496, as it does not contain the ſtatutes paſſed by John Albert in that year.

The

The moſt flouriſhing period of the univerſity was under Sigiſmond Auguſtus in the ſixteenth century; when ſeveral of the German reformers fled from the perſecutions of the emperor Charles the Fifth, and found an aſylum in this city. They gave to the world ſeveral verſions of the ſacred writings, and other theological publications, which diffuſed the reformed religion over great part of Poland. The protection which Sigiſmond Auguſtus afforded to men of learning of all denominations, and the univerſal toleration which he extended to every ſect of Chriſtians, created a ſuſpicion that he was ſecretly inclined to the new church; and it was even reported that he intended to renounce the catholic faith, and publicly profeſs the reformed religion*.

Towards the ſouthern part of the town, near the Viſtula, the palace or citadel, ſurrounded with brick walls and old turrets, forms a conſpicuous object on the ſummit of a rock. This palace owed its origin to Ladiſlaus Jaghellon; but the greater part was demoliſhed by Charles XII. in 1702, when he entered Cracow in triumph after the battle of Cliſſow; the remains conſiſt of a few apartments, which are left in the ſame ſtate as they exiſted in the laſt century. The walls of

* See p. 24.

one

one apartment are decorated with paintings of tilts and tournaments; those of a second with a representation of a coronation, affirmed, by the person who shewed the palace, to be that of Ladislaus the First, and to have been drawn in his time, but the style bespeaks it of more modern date; the cieling of a third is divided into different compartments, ornamented with grotesque heads. All the rooms are of fine dimensions, and exhibit remains of antient magnificence; but are totally without furniture.

This palace was formerly the residence of the Polish sovereigns, who, from the time of Ladislaus Loketec, were crowned at Cracow. The Polish and German historians differ concerning the time when the title of king was first claimed by the sovereigns of this country; but most probably Premislaus assumed the regal title in 1295, and was inaugurated at Gnesna by the archbishop of the diocese. He was succeeded by Ladislaus Loketec, who, offending the Poles by his capricious and tyrannical conduct, was deposed before his coronation; and Venceslaus king of Bohemia, who married Richsa daughter of Premislaus, being elected in his stead, was, in 1300, consecrated at Gnesna. Ladislaus, after flying from his country, and undergoing a series of calamitous adventures, was at length brought to a sense of his misconduct. Having regained the

affection of his ſubjects, he was reſtored to part of his dominions, and recovered them all upon the demiſe of Venceſlaus in 1305. He governed, however, for ſome years without the title of king; but at length, in 1320, was crowned at Cracow, and afterwards enacted, that his ſucceſſors ſhould be inaugurated in the cathedral of this city*.

Since that period, the laws of Poland have expreſsly deſignated Cracow as the place of coronation; and ſuch was the ſuperſtitious attachment of the Poles to this uſage, that when John Sobieſki was deſirous of being crowned at Leopold, on account of its vicinity to the army, which he was to command againſt the Turks at the time of his election, the Poliſh patriots ſtrongly oppoſed any innovation†; and the ceremony was performed at Cracow. Since Ladiſlaus, all the ſucceeding ſovereigns have been conſecrated at Cracow‡, excepting the preſent king. Before his election a decree was iſſued by the diet of convocation, that the coronation ſhould be ſolemnized at Warſaw, without prejudice in future to the antient right of Cracow; but the diadem and other regalia uſed at the coronation are ſtill preſerved in this palace.

* Dlugoſſius, lib. IX. p. 971. Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 19—22.

† Lengnich, Jus Publicum.

‡ I do not mention Staniſlaus Letzinſki, who was crowned at Warſaw, becauſe he was only a temporary ſovereign, and was ſoon obliged to retire from Poland.

The apartments command an extenſive view of the neighbouring country, which is principally a ſandy plain. We noticed particularly two large barrows: one is by tradition called the burial-place of Cracus duke of Poland, who is ſuppoſed to have built the town in 700; the other is called the ſepulchre of his daughter Venda, who is reported to have drowned herſelf in the Viſtula to avoid a marriage with a perſon whom ſhe deteſted. The whole hiſtory of Cracus and Venda is involved in impenetrable darkneſs, and theſe barrows, which are common in different parts of Europe, were probably anterior to the Chriſtian æra. The cuſtom of raiſing barrows over the bodies of the deceaſed was almoſt univerſal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice among the Greeks and Trojans; Virgil alludes to it as uſual in Italy in the times treated of in the Æneid; Xenophon relates that it obtained among the Perſians; the Roman hiſtorians record that the ſame mode of interment took place among their countrymen; and it prevailed no leſs among the antient Germans, Britons, and other nations. In general, popular tradition confers on ſome favourite characters in national hiſtory, like Cracus and Venda, the honour of being interred under the moſt conſpicuous of theſe monuments.

At

At ſome diſtance from Cracow, we noticed the fortreſs of Landſkron, ſituated upon a rock, which the confederates poſſeſſed during the late troubles; and from whence they made excurſions againſt the Ruſſian and Poliſh troops in the ſervice of the king. By a detachment of troops from this fortreſs, the citadel of Cracow was taken by ſurprize; a gallant exploit, which merits a particular notice. The perſon who ſhewed us the palace was himſelf preſent, when the Poliſh troops iſſued from a ſubterraneous paſſage, and ſurprized the Ruſſian garriſon, conſiſting of 87 men. At four in the morning a party of 76 confederates, led by lieutenant* Bytranowſki, entered the palace through a common ſewer, without being diſcovered, ſurpriſed the Ruſſians, took them priſoners almoſt without reſiſtance,

* In moſt of the accounts publiſhed of this tranſaction, it is ſaid that the confederates were led by a French officer, and that ſeveral Frenchmen were among them. I have related ſimply the account which I received from the ſteward of the palace, who repeatedly aſſured me, that there was not one Frenchman; and that they were led by a Poliſh lieutenant, whoſe name was Bytranowſki. The ſteward was himſelf preſent at the tranſaction, and being no ſoldier, was not confined with the garriſon in the dungeon; he had, therefore, every opportunity of being informed of the truth: at the ſame time it is poſſible, that partiality to his countrymen might induce him to give the whole honour to the Poles. Monſieur Vioſmenil is the French officer generally mentioned as leading this enterpriſing band of confederates through the ſubterraneous paſſage. According to Wraxall, Charlot, a French officer, was the leader of this daring corps. Vol. II. p. 404.

and made themſelves maſters of the citadel. One ſoldier having eſcaped by climbing the wall of the citadel, alarmed the Ruſſians in the town, who, without delay, attacked the caſtle, but were repulſed. This event happened on the 2d of February 1772. The ſame evening de Choiſy, in the ſervice of the confederates of Landſkron, acquainted with the ſucceſs of the enterprize, advanced towards Cracow at the head of 800 confederates (amongſt whom were ſeveral French officers), and, after defeating a corps of Ruſſians, entered the citadel. But the Ruſſian garriſon in the town, which before conſiſted of only 400 men, being reinforced, the confederates in the citadel ſuſtained a regular ſiege: they defended themſelves three months with undaunted ſpirit, and capitulated upon honourable terms. The ſubterraneous paſſage through which the 76 confederates introduced themſelves into the palace, is a drain two feet in height and one in breadth, opening without the walls near the Viſtula. They entered this drain, and crawled upon their hands and knees a conſiderable way, one behind another, until they emerged through a hole in the walls of the palace.

Having viewed the palace, we viſited the adjoining cathedral*, in which all the ſovereigns, from the time of Ladiſlaus Loketec, were inter-

* Lengnich, Jus. Publ.

red,

red, except Louis and Ladiſlaus III. whoſe bodies were depoſited in Hungary; Alexander, who was buried at Vilna; Henry of Valois, and Auguſtus the Third. The laws of Poland are as expreſs and minute in regulating the burial as the election and coronation of the kings, and many curious circumſtances attend their interment.

The body of the deceaſed prince is firſt carried to Warſaw, where it remains until the nomination of the new ſovereign. It is then conducted in great ſtate to Cracow, and two days before the coronation, the king elect, preceded by the great officers of ſtate, with their rods of office pointing to the ground, joins the funeral proceſſion, and follows the body to the church of St. Staniſlaus, where the burial ſervice is performed; the remains are then depoſited in the cathedral adjoining to the palace. It is peculiar to the laws of Poland, that the funeral of the deceaſed monarch ſhould immediately precede the coronation of the new ſovereign, and that the king elect ſhould attend the obſequies of his predeceſſor. Hiſtorians have ſagely remarked, that this ſingular cuſtom was inſtituted, in order to impreſs the new king with the uncertainty of human grandeur, and to remind him of his duty, by mixing the horrors of death with the pomp and dignity of his new ſtation. But this cuſtom probably took its riſe from the habits of exterior

homage, which the Poles affect to pay to their ſovereign in compenſation for the ſubſtantial dignity they with-hold from him. This ſpirit of mock-reverence they extend beyond the grave, and while they ſcarcely allow to the reigning king the ſhadow of real authority, heap upon a deceaſed monarch every trapping of imperial honour.

The ſepulchres of the kings of Poland are not diſtinguiſhed by peculiar magnificence; their figures are carved in marble of no extraordinary workmanſhip, and ſome are without inſcriptions.

I felt a ſtrong ſentiment of veneration on approaching the aſhes of Caſimir the Great, whom I conſider as one of the beſt princes that ever adorned a throne. It was not, however, the magnificence of his reign, his warlike achievements, nor even his patronage of the arts and ſciences; but his legiſlative abilities, and wonderful beneficence to the inferior claſs of his ſubjects, that inſpired reverence for his character.

Caſimir was born in 1310, and in 1333 aſcended the throne of Poland, on the demiſe of his father Ladiſlaus Loketec. The Poliſh hiſtorians dwell with ſingular complaceney upon his reign, as the moſt glorious and happy period of their annals; and record with peculiar pleaſure the virtues and abilities of this great and amiable monarch; nor are their praiſes the echoes of flattery, for they were

were moſtly written ſubſequent to his death, when another family was ſeated on the throne. In peruſing the reign of Caſimir, we can hardly believe that we are reading the hiſtory of the ſovereign of a barbarous people in the beginning of the fourteenth century: it ſeems as if, by the aſcendency of his ſuperior genius, he had anticipated the knowledge and improvements of ſucceeding and more enlightened periods.

From the moment of his acceſſion his firſt care was to ſecure his kingdom againſt foreign enemies. With this view he attacked the knights of the Teutonic order, with whom Poland had been long engaged in a ſtate of warfare, and compelled them to purchaſe peace by the ceſſion of Culm and Cujavia, which they had wreſted from his father. He then reduced Red Ruſſia, and annexed the duchy of Maſovia to the dominions of Poland; by which acquiſitions he not only extended the frontiers of his empire, but rendered his dominions leſs liable to ſudden invaſion. Theſe great ſucceſſes did not excite in his breaſt the fatal ſpirit of military enterprize; he always conſidered war as a matter of neceſſity, not of choice, and the means of ſafety rather than of glory*. Having ſecured his frontiers, as well by victories as by treaties with the neighbouring powers, he turned his whole attention

* Mitis ingenio, et quietis quam armorum appetentior. Florus Pol. p. 116.

to the interior adminiſtration of his kingdom. He built ſeveral towns, enlarged and beautified others; and Dlugoſſius *, who flouriſhed in the ſucceeding century, ſays of him, "Poland is indebted to Caſimir for the greater part of her churches, palaces, fortreſſes, and towns;" adding, in alluſion to a ſimilar eulogium of Auguſtus Cæſar, "that he found Poland of wood, and left her of marble." He patronized letters, inſtituted the academy of Cracow, promoted induſtry, and encouraged trade; elegant in his manners, and magnificent in his court, he was œconomical without meanneſs, and liberal without prodigality.

Caſimir was the great legiſlator of Poland: finding his country without written laws, he reviwed all the uſages and cuſtoms, digeſted them, with ſome additions, into a regular code, and improved the courts of juſtice. He was eaſy of acceſs to the meaneſt as well as the higheſt of his ſubjects, and ſolicitous to relieve the peaſants from the oppreſſions of the nobility. Such indeed was his tenderneſs to that injured claſs of men, and ſo many were the privileges which he conferred upon them, that the nobles uſed to call him out of deriſion *Rex Ruſticorum*, (the king of the peaſants;) perhaps the moſt noble appellation ever beſtowed upon a ſovereign, and far preferable to the titles of magnificent and great, often laviſhed rather upon the perſecutors than the benefactors

* Lib. IX. p. 1164.

of

of mankind. Human nature is never perfect, and Caſimir was not without his failings; he puſhed the pleaſures of the table to an intemperate exceſs, and his inordinate paſſion for women led him into ſome actions, inconſiſtent with his uſual integrity. But to uſe the expreſſion of a Poliſh hiſtorian, his private failings were redeemed by his public virtues *; and it is univerſally allowed that no ſovereign more conſulted the happineſs of his ſubjects, or was more beloved at home and reſpected abroad. He was thrown from his horſe as he was hunting, and died after a ſhort illneſs in the 60th year of his age, and the 40th of his reign; carrying to the grave the regret of his ſubjects, and a claim to the veneration of poſterity. He is deſcribed as tall in his perſon, and inclined to corpulency, with a majeſtic aſpect, thick and curling hair, long beard, and a ſtrong voice ſomewhat liſping †.

Next to the remains of Caſimir repoſe the aſhes of Ladiſlaus II. ‡ known by the appellation of Jaghellon, the father of a race of kings called from him the Jaghellon line. He was originally

* Redimens vitia virtutibus. Dlugoſſius.

† Vir ſtaturâ elevatâ, corpore craſſo, fronte venerabili, crine circino et abundante, barbâ promiſsâ, voce aliquantulum bâlba ſed ſonorâ. Deceſſit Caſimirus a. 1370, ſays Lengnich, cui Polonia leges, judicia, cultûm, plurimas civitates, arces, et alia edificia, debet. Hiſt. Pol. p. 25.

‡ He is ſometimes called Ladiſlaus IV. and ſometimes Ladiſlaus V.; but eſtimating from the time when the ſovereigns of Poland aſſumed the regal authority, he ought to be called Ladiſlaus II. "Ladiſlaus inter Poloniæ reges illius nominis ſecundus." Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 31.

duke

duke of Lithuania, and, together with his ſubjects, a worſhipper of idols; but having embraced Chriſtianity, and eſpouſed Hedwige ſecond daughter of Louis, he obtained the throne of Poland. This event happened in 1386, in which year he was publicly baptized, married, and crowned at Cracow: he died in 1434 at an advanced age, and in the 50th year of a long and glorious reign.

Among his poſterity, whoſe bodies are depoſited in this cathedral, the moſt memorable is Sigiſmond I. a great and able monarch, the protector of the arts and ſciences. He is repreſented, however, as not ſufficiently watchful over the royal prerogative, and yielding too eaſily to the encroachments of the nobility, to the injury of ſucceeding monarch, and detriment of the republic. But theſe compliances admit of great palliation; when we reflect, that the nobles had raiſed him to the throne, and were become nearly uncontroulable by the conceſſions of his immediate predeceſſors.

As I viewed the tomb of his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus, I recollected, with regret and ſympathy for this unhappy country, that in him terminated that hereditary influence which, during a long ſucceſſion of ſovereigns, gave tranquillity to the diets of election; and that upon his death all thoſe troubles, which are inſeparable from a crown wholly elective, burſt upon the kingdom. From this period the cabals and convulſions, continu-

ally recurring at every choice of a new ſovereign, impaired the ſtrength of the ſtate, and the dignity of the throne. The Poles gradually loſt their conſequence among foreign powers; and the authority of ſucceeding kings depended more on their own perſonal abilities, and accidental circumſtances, than on any principle of vigour inherent in the crown.

The firſt of the new ſucceſſion, whoſe remains are interred in this church, is Stephen Bathori, prince of Tranſylvania, elected in 1576, upon the abdication of Henry of Valois. He owed his elevation to his marriage with Anne daughter of Sigiſmond I.; a princeſs in the 52d year of her age, and not endowed with any winning attractions, had ſhe not brought a kingdom for her marriage portion. The epitaph upon his tomb juſtly aſcribes to Stephen a long catalogue of civil and military virtues.

Adjoining is the ſepulchre of his ſucceſſors Sigiſmond III. ſon of John III. king of Sweden, by Catherine daughter of Sigiſmond I.; elected king of Poland in 1587; he revived, on the female ſide, the Jaghellon line. He was raiſed to the throne while prince royal of Sweden, and, on the death of his father in 1592, poſſeſſed both crowns; but he gradually loſt all authority in Sweden, and was at length formally depoſed by the ſtates of that kingdom. He owed his expulſion from Sweden

Sweden to his partiality for Poland, to his bigotted zeal for the catholic religion, and above all to the ſuperior genius of his uncle and rival Charles IX. He expired in the 46th year of his reign, and in the 67th of his age.

Near the body of Sigiſmond lie thoſe of his two ſons; Ladiſlaus IV. elected king of Poland upon the demiſe of his father, ſupported the dignity of his crown with reputation and honour; and John Caſimir, a prince, whoſe character and adventures are too ſingular to be paſſed over without particular notice.

John Caſimir, ſon of Sigiſmond III. by Anne, ſiſter of the emperor Ferdinand II. was educated in his father's court; upon whoſe death his mother endeavoured, but without effect, to procure his election in oppoſition to Ladiſlaus. Repulſed from the throne, he contracted a diſguſt to Poland, and undertook a journey to Spain with a view of offering his ſervices to his couſin Philip IV. then at war with France. Paſſing through Auſtria and Trent into Italy, he embarked at Genoa, in a veſſel bound for Spain; but prompted by curioſity, ventured to land incognito at Marſeilles. Being diſcovered, he was arreſted by order of the French court, and on account of his connection with the houſe of Auſtria, cloſely impriſoned for the ſpace of two years *. Through

* Florus Polon. p. 437, & ſeq.

the

the interceſſion of Ladiſlaus, he repaired to Rome, and either out of devotion or caprice, entered into the ſociety of the Jeſuits; but afterwards quitted that order, and was promoted to the rank of cardinal. Upon the death of Ladiſlaus, being abſolved from his vows by the pope, he was elected king of Poland, and, having obtained a diſpenſation, married his brother's widow, Louiſa Maria, daughter of the duke of Nevers, a woman of great beauty and ſtill greater ſpirit, who blended devotion with a ſtrong propenſity to political intrigues: ſhe was the ſoul of her huſband's councils, and may be ſaid to have reigned over Poland, while he was only nominal king. Such was her aſcendency, that ſhe induced him to ſolicit the nomination of the duke of Enguien, ſon of the great Condé, for his ſucceſſor; a meaſure ſo contradictory to the principles of the Poliſh conſtitution, as well as to his coronation oath, excited a general diſcontent, and threw the kingdom into the moſt violent commotions.

The reign of John Caſimir was active and turbulent, memorable for the revolt of the Coſſacs of the Ukraine, for the unſucceſsful wars with Sweden, and for the inſurrections of the nobility. Though, ſo far from being deficient in military courage, that in every deſperate emergency he commanded his troops in perſon; though, to uſe his own expreſſion, "he was the firſt to attack, and

and the laſt to retreat*;" yet as he preferred peace to war, and wanted the enterprizing ſpirit of his brother, he was accuſed by the Poles of indolence and puſillanimity. His political ſagacity appears from his prediction, that Poland, enfeebled by anarchy and the licentiouſneſs of the nobles, would be diſmembered by the neighbouring powers. Worn out at length with the cares of royalty, ſhocked at the diſtreſſed ſtate of the kingdom, diſcontented with the nobility, afflicted at the death of his wife, and impelled by the verſatility of his diſpoſition, he abdicated the throne in the 20th year of his reign, and in the 68th of his age. This extraordinary event took place on the 27th of Auguſt, in the year 1668, before a general diet aſſembled at Warſaw: the ſcene was affecting, the conduct of the king manly and reſolute, and his ſpeech upon that event is a fine piece of pathetic eloquence †.

Soon after his abdication he retired into France, and again embraced the eccleſiaſtical profeſſion. Louis XIV. who prided himſelf in affording an aſylum to abdicated ſovereigns, gave him the abbeys of St. Germain and St. Martin, without which he would have had no means of ſubſiſtence; as Poland ſoon with-held his penſion; a proof

* "Eum me eſſe, qui primus in præliis, poſtremus in diſcrimine et receſſu." Zaluſki Ep. vol. I. p. 57.

† See Zaluſki Epiſt. v. I. p. 57.

that

that the tears ſhed at his abdication were not ſincere. Notwithſtanding his eccleſiaſtical engagements, John Caſimir could not withſtand the attractions of Marie Mignot, a woman, who, though originally a laundreſs, had married firſt a counſellor of Grenoble, and afterwards the marquis de L'Hoſpital. John Caſimir was ſuſpected of having ſecretly eſpouſed her. He is repreſented, by thoſe who knew him in his retirement, as eaſy and familiar in converſation, and diſpleaſed with receiving any honours due to his former rank *. He ſurvived his abdication only four years, and died at Nevers on the 16th of December, 1672. His body was brought to this city, and buried in the cathedral at the ſame time with that of his ſucceſſor Michael, the day before the coronation of John Sobieſki.

Approaching the remains of John Sobieſki, I recollected that when Charles XII. of Sweden entered Cracow he viſited theſe tombs, as a mark of reſpect to the memory of that great monarch: he is reported, as he hung with reverence over his tomb, to have exclaimed, "What a pity that ſo great a man ſhould ever die!" May we not alſo exclaim, what a pity that a perſon ſo impreſſed with a ſenſe of Sobieſki's merits ſhould adopt only the military part of his character for the object of imitation! How infinitely inferior is the Swediſh to the Po-

* Vie de Sobieſki, I. p. 135.

liſh

liſh ſovereign! Charles, dead to all the finer feelings of humanity, was awake only to the calls of glory; every other ſentiment was loſt in the ardour for military honours. If perſonal courage be ſufficient to conſtitute a hero, he poſſeſſed that quality in an eminent degree; but it was rather the bravery of a ſoldier than the courage of a general. Sobieſki, even in that view of his character, has an equal title to fame; for his valour was no leſs diſtinguiſhed, and in one reſpect ſuperior, as it was not clouded with raſhneſs, but tempered with prudence. Though the firſt general of his age, he placed not his ſole ambition in military glory; he was great in peace as well as in war: by the union of military and political talents, he defended his country in impending danger, raiſed her from her falling ſtate, and delayed the æra of her decline; while Charles deficient in civil virtues, plunged Sweden, which he found highly proſperous, into ruin and deſolation. In a word, Charles poſſeſſed the enthuſiaſm of a knight-errant, and Sobieſki the virtues of an hero *.

Near Cracow are the remains of an old ſtructure, called the palace of Caſimir the Great, which my veneration for his memory induced me to viſit. In the inner court are the remains of a cor-

* See an account of Sobieſki's death and family, Chap. IV. of this book.

ridore

ridore with pillars of the Doric order; and upon a ſide wall I obſerved the white-eagle of Poland carved in ſtone, and around it an inſcription ſo much defaced that I could only make out Ann. Dom. M.CCCLXVII, which anſwers to the æra of Caſimir, who died in 1370. Several marble columns were ſcattered around, which ſhewed the antient magnificence of the building. The greater part of the fabric was evidently of later date than the reign of Caſimir, and probably conſtructed by ſucceeding ſovereigns upon the foundation of the antient palace; perhaps by Stephen Bathori, from the inſcription, *Stephanus Dei gratia*, which I traced; and alſo by Sigiſmond III. as I diſcovered his cypher with the wheat-ſheaf, the arms of Guſtavus Vaſa, from whom he was lineally deſcended.

This palace was the principal reſidence of Caſimir: in the garden is a barrow called the tomb of Eſther the fair Jeweſs, and favourite miſtreſs of that monarch. To her influence the Jews are ſuppoſed to owe their numerous privileges in Poland, which is called the Paradiſe of the Jews. But when the character of Caſimir is conſidered, it will appear probable, that they were indebted for their favourable reception more to his policy than to his affection for his miſtreſs; for in thoſe times the Jews were the richeſt and moſt commercial individuals in Europe: by allowing them,

therefore, to ſettle in Poland, and by granting them extraordinary immunities, he introduced trade and wealth into his dominions. The Jews are extremely numerous, and have engroſſed almoſt the whole commerce of the country; yet their flouriſhing ſtate muſt not be attributed ſolely to the edicts of Caſimir in their favour; but to their induſtry, to the indolence of the gentry, and the oppreſſed condition of the peaſants.

CHAP. 2.

Mode of ſaluting and dreſs of the Poles.—Account of the ſalt-mines of Wielitſka.—Their extent and produce.—Journey to Warſaw.

THE Poles ſeem a lively people, and uſe much action in their ordinary converſation. Their common mode of ſaluting is to incline the head, and ſtrike the breaſt with one hand, while they ſtretch the other towards the ground; but when a common perſon meets a ſuperior, he bows his head almoſt to the earth, waving at the ſame time his hand, with which he touches the leg, near the heel, of the perſon to whom he pays his obeiſance. The men of all ranks generally wear whiſkers, and ſhave their heads, leaving only a circle of hair upon the crown. The ſummer dreſs of the peaſants conſiſts of a ſhirt and drawers of coarſe linen, without ſhoes or ſtockings, and round caps or hats. The women of the lower claſs wear upon their heads a wrapper of white linen, under which their hair is braided, and hangs down in two plaits. I obſerved ſeveral with a long piece of white linen thrown over their heads, and reaching below their knees: in this ſingular kind of veil they appear as if doing penance.

The dreſs of the higher orders, both men and women, is extremely elegant. That of the gentlemen is a waiſtcoat with ſleeves, with an upper robe of a different colour, which reaches below the knee, and is faſtened round the waiſt with a ſaſh or girdle; the ſleeves are in warm weather tied behind the ſhoulders: in ſummer, the robe is of ſilk; in winter, of cloth, velvet, or ſtuff, edged with fur; a ſabre is a neceſſary appendage of the dreſs as a mark of nobility. They wear fur-caps or bonnets, and buſkins of yellow leather, the heels of which are plated with iron or ſteel. The dreſs of the ladies is a ſimple polonaiſe, or long robe, edged with fur.

The Poles in their features, look, cuſtoms, dreſs, and general appearance, reſemble Aſiatics rather than Europeans, and are unqueſtionably deſcended from Tartar anceſtors. A German hiſtorian *, well verſed in the antiquity of nations, remarks, that the manner in which the Poles wear their hair is a ſtriking token of their origin. So early as the fifth century, ſome nations, comprehended under the name of Scythians, had the ſame cuſtom. For Priſcus Rhætor, who accompanied Maximus in his embaſſy from Theodoſius II. to the court of Attila, deſcribes a Scythian chief, whoſe head was ſhaved in a circular form †, a mode ſimilar to the preſent faſhion in Poland.

* Maſcow. † Capite in rotundum raſo.

Before

Seigel sculpsit

A POLISH GENTLEMAN.

Published according to Act of Parliament. Jan.y 1.st 1784. by T. Cadell. in the Strand.

Before we quitted this part of Poland, we viſited the celebrated ſalt-mines of Wielitſka, excavated in a ridge of hills at the northern extremity of the chain which joins the Carpathian mountains: they take their appellation from the ſmall village of Wielitſka; but are ſometimes called in foreign countries the mines of Cracow, from their vicinity to that city.

Upon our arrival at Wielitſka we repaired to the mouth of the mine *. Having faſtened three ſeparate hammocks round the great rope employed in drawing up the ſalt, we ſeated ourſelves in a commodious manner, and were gently let down 160 yards below the firſt layer of ſalt. Quitting our hammocks, we paſſed a long and gradual deſcent, ſometimes through broad paſſages or galleries capable of admitting ſeveral carriages abreaſt; ſometimes down ſteps cut in the ſolid ſalt, which had the grandeur and commodiouſneſs of the ſtair-caſe in a palace. We each carried a light, and ſeveral guides preceded us with lamps, the reflection of which from the glittering ſides of the mine was extremely beautiful; but did not caſt that luminous ſplendour, which ſome writers compare to the luſtre of precious ſtones.

The ſalt is called *Ziebna* or Green Salt, though the colour is iron grey, and when pounded

* There are two other openings, down one of which the miners deſcend by ſtairs, down the other by ladders.

appears like our brown ſalt. The quality improves in proportion to the depth. Towards the ſides and ſurface it is mixed with earthy or ſtony particles; lower it is ſaid to be pure, and to require no proceſs before it is uſed. The fineſt of this grey ſalt, however, is of a weak quality when compared with our common ſea-ſalt: it is therefore undoubtedly by no means pure, but blended with extraneous particles, though it ſerves for common purpoſes. Being almoſt as hard as ſtone, the miners hew it with pick-axes and hatchets, by a tedious operation, into large blocks, many of which weigh ſix or ſeven hundred pounds. Theſe maſſes are raiſed by a windlaſs; but the ſmaller pieces are conveyed up by horſes along a winding gallery, which reaches to the ſurface of the earth. Beſide the grey ſpecies, the miners ſometimes diſcover ſmall cubes of white ſalt, as tranſparent as chryſtal, but not in any conſiderable quantity: they find occaſionally pieces of coal and petrified wood buried in the ſalt.

The mine appears inexhauſtible, as will eaſily be conceived from the account of its dimenſions. The known breadth is 1115 feet, length 6691, and depth 743; and the beſt judges on the ſpot ſuppoſe, with great probability, this ſolid body of ſalt to branch into various directions, the extent of which is unknown.

Our guide pointed out to us, what he conſidered

dered as the moſt remarkable curioſity of the place, ſeveral ſmall chapels excavated in the ſalt, in which maſs is ſaid on certain days. One of theſe chapels is 30 feet long and 25 broad; the altar, crucifix, ornaments of the church, and ſtatues of ſeveral ſaints, are all carved out of the ſalt. Many of the excavations or chambers are of an immenſe ſize; ſome are propped with timber, others by vaſt pillars of ſalt: ſeveral of large dimenſions are without ſupport in the middle. I remarked one in particular, which was 80 feet in height, and ſo extremely long and broad, as almoſt to appear without limits, amid the ſubterraneous gloom. The roofs of theſe vaults are not arched, but flat. The immenſe ſize of the chambers, with the ſpacious paſſages or galleries, together with the chapels, and a few ſheds for horſes, probably gave riſe to the exaggerated accounts of ſome travellers, that theſe mines contain ſeveral villages inhabited by colonies of miners, who never ſee the light. There is certainly room ſufficient; but the miners have no dwellings under ground, as they do not remain below more than eight hours at a time, when they are relieved by others. We found theſe mines without damp or moiſture; obſerving only, in our whole progreſs one ſmall ſpring of water, which is impregnated with ſalt.

Such an enormous maſs of ſalt exhibits a won-

derful phænomenon in the natural hiſtory of the globe. According to Guetard, who viſited theſe mines, and publiſhed a treatiſe upon the ſubject, the uppermoſt bed of earth at the ſurface is ſand; the ſecond clay, occaſionally mixed with ſand and gravel, and containing petrifactions of marine bodies; the third calcareous ſtone; from which circumſtances he conjectures that this ſpot was formerly covered by the ſea, and that the ſalt is a gradual depoſit formed by evaporation*.

Theſe mines have been worked above 600 years, for they are mentioned in the Poliſh annals ſo early as 1237, under Boleſlaus† the Chaſte. The profits were long appropriated to the king's privy purſe, and, before the partition, yielded annually £.97,222 ſterling. They are now ſituated within the province which the Emperor diſmembered, but the profits are much diminiſhed; for the Auſtrian commiſſioners imprudently raiſed the price of ſalt, conceiving that Poland could not exiſt without drawing ſalt as uſual from Wielitſka, and would therefore be obliged to receive it at any price. This mode of proceeding offending the Poles, the king of Pruſſia imported large quantities of ſalt, which

* See Memoire ſur les Mines de Sel de Wielitſka in Hiſt. de l'Acad. des Sciences for 1762.

† Lengnich, Jus Pub. vol. I. p. 249.

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he procured chiefly from Spain, to Dantzic, Memmel, and Koningſburg, from whence it was conveyed up the Viſtula into the interior provinces. By theſe means he furniſhed great part of Poland with ſalt, at a cheaper rate than the inhabitants could procure it from the houſe of Auſtria; and in 1778 the mines of Wielitſka only ſupplied the diſtricts which immediately border upon Auſtrian Poland.

I never ſaw a road ſo barren of intereſting ſcenes as that from Cracow to Warſaw; throughout the whole tract not a ſingle object preſents itſelf which can draw the attention of the moſt inquiſitive traveller. The country was level, with little variation of ſurface, chiefly overſpread with vaſt tracts of gloomy foreſt, and even where it was more open, the diſtant horizon was always ſkirted with wood. The trees were chiefly pines and firs, intermixed with beech, birch, and ſmall oaks; occaſional breaks in the foreſt preſented ſome paſture ground, with here and there a few meagre crops of corn. A forlorn ſtillneſs and ſolitude prevailed almoſt through the whole extent, with few ſymptoms of an inhabited, and ſtill leſs of a civilized country. Though we traverſed the high road from Cracow to Warſaw, in the courſe of 258 miles we met only two carriages and a dozen carts. The country was equally thin of human habitations: a few wooden villages

villages ſucceeded one another at long intervals, whoſe miſerable appearance correſponded with the wretchedneſs of the ſurrounding country. In theſe groupes of huts, the only places of reception for travellers were hovels, belonging to Jews, totally deſtitute of furniture and every ſpecies of accommodation. We could ſeldom procure any other room but that in which the family lived; in the article of proviſion, eggs and milk were our greateſt luxuries, and could not always be obtained; our only bed was ſtraw thrown upon the ground, and we deemed ourſelves happy when we could procure it clean. Even we, who were by no means delicate, and who had been long accuſtomed to all kinds of inconveniences, found ourſelves diſtreſſed in this land of deſolation. In moſt other countries we ſuſpended our journey during night, that no ſcene might eſcape our obſervation; yet here we even preferred continuing our route without intermiſſion, to the penance we endured in theſe receptacles of filth and penury; and have reaſon to believe, that darkneſs deprived us of nothing but the ſight of indifferent crops of corn, gloomy foreſts, and objects of human miſery. The natives were poorer, humbler, and more miſerable, than any people we had yet obſerved in the courſe of our travels: wherever we ſtopped, they flocked around us in crouds, and demanded charity with the moſt abject geſtures.

The road bore as few marks of induſtry as the country which it interſects. It was beſt where it was ſandy; in other parts it was ſcarcely paſſable, and, in the marſhy grounds, was raiſed with ſticks and boughs of trees thrown promiſcuouſly upon the ſurface, or formed by trunks of trees laid croſsways. After a tedious journey we at length approached Warſaw; but the roads being neither more paſſable, nor the country better cultivated, and the ſuburbs chiefly conſiſting of the ſame wooden hovels which compoſe the villages, we had no ſuſpicion of being near the capital of Poland, until we arrived at the gates.

CHAP. 3.

Deſcription of Warſaw.—Preſentation to the king of Poland.—Palace.—Portraits of the kings.—Literary ſociety.—Entertainment at the royal villa, in prince Poniatouſki's garden.—Fête champêtre given at Povonſki by the princeſs Zartoriſka.

THE ſituation of Warſaw is not unpleaſant: it is built partly in a plain, and partly on a gentle aſcent riſing from the banks of the Viſtula, which is about as broad as the Thames at Weſtminſter-Bridge, though very ſhallow in ſummer. The city and ſuburbs occupy a vaſt extent of ground; but contain no more than between ſixty and ſeventy thouſand inhabitants, among whom are numerous foreigners. The whole town has a melancholy appearance, exhibiting that ſtrong contraſt of wealth and poverty, luxury and diſtreſs, which pervades every part of this unhappy country. The ſtreets are ſpacious, but ill-paved, and are ſcarcely lighted with a ſingle lamp; the churches and public buildings large and magnificent; the palaces of the nobility numerous and ſplendid; but the greater part of the houſes, particularly in the ſuburbs, are mean and ill-conſtructed wooden hovels.

Auguſt 2. The Engliſh miniſter, Mr. Wroughton, being in the country, we carried our letters of

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of recommendation to Count Rzewuſki, great marſhal of the crown, who received us with much civility, and appointed Sunday morning to preſent us at the levee. At that time we repaired to court, and were admitted into the audience-chamber, which was decorated with the buſts of Elizabeth of England, Henry IV. of France, John Sobieſki, and the empreſs of Ruſſia.

At length the king made his appearance, and we were preſented. His majeſty talked to each of us a conſiderable time in the moſt obliging manner; he paid a warm eulogium to the Engliſh nation, mentioned his reſidence in London with great ſatisfaction, and concluded by inviting us to ſupper in the evening, of which honour we had previous intimation from the great marſhal.

Staniſlaus Auguſtus is handſome in his perſon, with an expreſſive countenance, a dark complexion, Roman noſe, and penetrating eye: he is uncommonly pleaſing in his addreſs, and poſſeſſes great ſweetneſs of condeſcenſion, tempered with dignity. He had on a full-dreſſed ſuit, which circumſtance I mention, becauſe he is the firſt king of Poland who did not wear the national habit, or ſhave his head after the Poliſh cuſtom. His example has many imitators, and I was much ſurprized to ſee ſo few of the chief nobility in the national garb. The natives however in general are ſo attached

tached to this dreſs, that in the laſt diet of convocation it was propoſed to inſert in the *Pacta Conventa* an article obliging the king to wear the Poliſh garment; but this motion was over-ruled, and he was permitted to conſult his own taſte. At his coronation he laid aſide the antient regal habit of ceremony, and appeared in robes of a more modern faſhion, with his hair flowing upon his ſhoulders*.

At the concluſion of the levee we viſited the apartments of the palace: it was built by Sigiſmond III. and has ſince been the principal reſidence of the Poliſh monarchs. The palace ſtands upon a riſing ground at a ſmall diſtance from the Viſtula, and commands a fine view of that river and of the adjacent country. Next to the audience-chamber is an apartment fitted up with marble, which the king has dedicated, by an inſcription, to the memory of his predeceſſors: *Regum Memoriæ dicavit Staniſlaus Auguſtus*

* The king ſeems to have acted in this inſtance with great indiſcretion, in rejecting the national dreſs, to which the Poles, tenacious of their antient cuſtoms, were extremely attached. Staniſlaus was not inſenſible of the comelineſs of his perſon, and was unwilling to deſpoil himſelf of his long and flowing hair; he therefore obtained a certificate from the phyſicians, aſſerting, that the loſs of his hair would affect his health. The faſhion of his robes was new-modelled, like thoſe of the kings of France, made of velvet and ermine, and ornamented with the fleurs de lis. Theſe deviations from the antient coſtume rendered the king extremely unpopular.

hocce

hocce monumentum, 1771. The portraits of the ſovereigns are ranged in chronological order: the ſeries begins from Boleſlaus, and is carried down to his preſent majeſty, whoſe picture is not yet finiſhed. Theſe heads are all painted by Bacciarelli, and well executed; the portraits of the earlier kings are ſketched from imagination; but that of Ladiſlaus II. and moſt of his ſucceſſors, are copied from originals. They altogether produce a pleaſing effect, and may be conſidered as an agreeable ſpecies of genealogical table. In this apartment the king gives a dinner every Thurſday to the men of letters who are moſt conſpicuous for learning and abilities; his majeſty himſelf preſides at table, and takes the lead in the graces of converſation as much as in rank. The perſons admitted to this ſociety read occaſionally treatiſes upon different topics of hiſtory, natural philoſophy, and other miſcellaneous ſubjects; and, as a code of laws was compiling for the purpoſe of being preſented to the next diet, parts of that code, or obſervations relative to legiſlation in general, and the conſtitution of Poland in particular, are introduced. The king zealouſly encourages all attempts to refine his native tongue, which was much neglected during the reigns of his two predeceſſors, who were ignorant of the Poliſh language. Poetry, of which he is extremely fond, is much cultivated

at

at theſe meetings. The adjoining apartment was hung with the portraits of the principal members of the ſociety.

In obedience to the king's condeſcending invitation, we proceeded, in the evening, to a royal villa, ſituated in the midſt of a delightful wood, in the vicinity of Warſaw. It conſiſts of a ſaloon, and four other apartments upon the firſt floor, together with a bath, from which it takes the name of *la Maiſon de Bain:* above are the ſame number of rooms, each fitted up in the moſt elegant manner. The king received us in the ſaloon with extreme affability: his brother and two of his nephews were preſent, and a few nobility of both ſexes, who generally compoſe his private parties. There were two tables for whiſt, and thoſe who were not engaged at cards walked about, or ſtood at different ſides of the room, while the king, who ſeldom plays, converſed occaſionally with every one. At half an hour after nine, ſupper being announced, we followed the king into an adjoining apartment, where was a ſmall round table with eight covers; the ſupper conſiſted of one courſe and a deſert. His majeſty ſat down, but eat nothing; he took a conſiderable ſhare in the converſation, without wholly engroſſing it. After ſupper we repaired to the ſaloon, part of the company returned to cards, while we, out of reſpect to the king, continued ſtanding,

ſtanding, until his majeſty propoſed ſitting down, adding, "we ſhall be more at our eaſe chatting round a table." We accordingly ſeated ourſelves, and the converſation laſted, with perfect eaſe, till midnight, when the king retired. Before he withdrew, he ordered a nobleman of the party to conduct us to every object in Warſaw worthy of a ſtranger's curioſity. This extraordinary degree of attention penetrated us with gratitude, and proved a prelude to ſtill greater honours.

Auguſt 5. We had the honour of dining with his majeſty at the ſame villa, and experienced the ſame eaſe and affability of reception. The king had hitherto talked French, but he now did me the honour to converſe in Engliſh, which he ſpeaks remarkably well. He expreſſed a flattering predilection for our nation, and ſurprized me by his exact knowledge of our conſtitution, laws, and hiſtory; all his remarks were pertinent, juſt, and rational. He is familiarly converſant with our beſt authors, and his enthuſiaſtic admiration of Shakeſpeare gave me a convincing proof of his intimate acquaintance with our language, and taſte for the beauties of genuine poetry. He inquired much about the ſtate of arts and ſciences in England; and ſpoke with raptures of the protection which our ſovereign gives to the arts and to every ſpecies of literature. After we had taken our leave, we drove round the wood to ſeveral other villas,

in which the king occaſionally reſides. They are all conſtructed in different ſtyles with great taſte and elegance. His majeſty is fond of architecture, and draws the plans for the buildings, and even the deſigns for the interior decorations.

In the evening we had the pleaſure of meeting his majeſty at his brother's, prince Poniatouſki, who gave us a moſt elegant entertainment at a garden ſituated near his villa, and richly ornamented with buildings. The taſte of the Poliſh nobility is not controuled by want of materials; for if they cannot procure them from nature, they make a repreſentation of them by art. In the preſent inſtance, as there are no quarries of ſtone near Warſaw, the prince has ſubſtituted a compoſition ſo nearly reſembling ſtone, that the moſt minute obſerver can ſcarcely diſcover the difference.

We arrived at the garden about nine: it was a delightful evening, ſucceeding one of the moſt ſultry days we had experienced this ſummer. After walking about the grounds, we came to a grotto of artificial rock, where a ſpring of water trickled down the ſides, and fell into a baſon with a pleaſing murmur. We were ſcarcely aſſembled in this delightful ſpot, when the king made his appearance: we roſe up to meet him; the uſual compliments being paſſed, we attended his majeſty about the grounds, and then returned

to

to the grotto, ranging ourſelves upon a bank covered with moſs. The moon was now riſen, and added greatly to the beauty of the ſcene. I happened to be ſeated next to the king (for all ceremony was baniſhed) who talked with me as uſual, in Engliſh, on the arts and ſciences, literature, and hiſtory. In the courſe of the converſation I ventured to inquire concerning the poetry in the Poliſh language. His majeſty ſaid, "We have ſome lighter pieces of poetry, by no means contemptible, and an indifferent epic poem; but the work of chief poetical excellence in our tongue is a fine tranſlation of the *Geruſalemme Liberata* of Taſſo, far ſuperior to any tranſlations of that admirable poem in other languages; ſome Italians of taſte and judgment have eſteemed it not much inferior to the original performance." I then turned the converſation to the hiſtorical productions; when the king informed me, that they had no good hiſtory of their country in Poliſh, which he deemed a national reflection, though he flattered himſelf it would ſoon be removed, as a perſon of genius and erudition*, admirably calculated for the undertaking,

* Naruſzewicz, biſhop of Smolenſko. In 1785, he had already printed the 2d, 3d, 4th, and 5th volumes. He poſtponed printing his firſt volume, until he had received farther documents from Rome; for this reaſon the work was not then publiſhed. The ſecond volume begins with Miciſlaus I; and the fifth ends with the

dertaking, was employed in that work. Expreſſing my ſurprize at this circumſtance, which is almoſt peculiar to Poland, his majeſty obſerved, "we have ſeveral excellent hiſtorians, but they have all written in Latin, the knowledge of which language," his majeſty remarked, "is general*; the earlieſt laws are drawn up in Latin until the reign of Sigiſmond Auguſtus, when they began to be compoſed in the vernacular language; the old *Pacta Conventa* are all in Latin; thoſe of Ladiſlaus IV. being the firſt that appeared in Poliſh." This intereſting converſation was interrupted by the prince, who propoſed a turn in the garden before ſupper: he led the way, and the company followed; paſſing through a ſubterraneous paſſage, long and winding, with here and there a ſingle lamp, which ſhed a glimmering light, we came at length to a wooden door, which ſeemed the entrance of a hovel; it opened, and diſcovered a ſuperb rotunda, with an elegant dome of the moſt beautiful ſymmetry, illuminated with innumerable lamps; in

death of Ladiſlaus Loketec, in 1333. The ſixth, which was in the preſs, contains the reign of Caſimir the Great, and the ſeventh will compriſe the interregnum which followed the death of Caſimir, the reign of Louis, and the ſubſequent interregnum, to the election of Ladiſlaus Jaghellon.

* I had ſeveral opportunities of remarking the prevalency of the Latin tongue in Poland; when I viſited the priſons I converſed in that language with a common ſoldier, who ſtood guard at the entrance: he ſpoke it with great fluency.

the

the circumference were four open receſſes between pillars of artificial marble*:" the receſſes contained ſophas, with paintings *in freſco*, repreſenting the triumphs of Bacchus, Silenus, Love, and the victory of the Empreſs of Ruſſia over the Turks. While we were admiring the beauty of the rotunda, our ears were ſuddenly regaled with a concert of exquiſite muſic from an inviſible band, and a magnificent table was ſpread with ſuch expedition, as to reſemble the effects of enchantment. We ſat down to ſupper with the king, the prince, and a choſen company. Our ſpirits were elevated by the beauty of the ſaloon, by the hoſpitality of the prince, and by the affability of the king; who, ſo far from being a conſtraint to the ſociety, greatly enlivened it by his vivacity, and ſeemed the ſoul of the party. I never paſſed a more agreeable evening; the converſation was animated and rational; while the ſocial eaſe, which diffuſed itſelf through every part of the company, realized this convivial picture;

La Liberté convive aimable
Met les deux coudes ſur la table†.

* Theſe pillars are of the ſame compoſition and colour with thoſe of the Pantheon in Oxford-Street.

† Voltaire.

Even without the luſtre of a crown, which is apt to dazzle our judgment, the king of Poland would be eſteemed one of the moſt agreeable and polite gentlemen in Europe; he has a ſurprizing fund of intereſting converſation, and I never had the honour of acceſs to his company without being both informed and delighted. His majeſty did not retire until one o'clock, when the company ſeparated, and we returned to Warſaw, highly delighted with our evening's entertainment.

I have had frequent occaſion to mention the elegance and luxury of the Poliſh nobility in their houſes and villas; in their decorations and furniture they ſeem to have happily blended the Engliſh and French modes; in their entertainments they are exquiſitely refined, and as they ſpare no expence, and have a good taſte, they generally ſucceed in creating pleaſure and ſurprize. We every day experienced the agreeable effects of their hoſpitality and politeneſs; but by none were we ſo elegantly regaled as by the princeſs Zartoriſka in a *fête champêtre*, of which I ſhall attempt a deſcription.

Povoniſki, the villa of prince Adam Zartoriſki, is three miles from Warſaw in the midſt of a foreſt; the ſituation is almoſt level, with here and there a gentle ſlope, which produces an agree-

able

able variety. The grounds are laid out in the Engliſh taſte, with a beautiful intermixture of lawn and wood; walks are cut through the wood, and carried along the banks of a lively ſtream.

The houſe, which ſtands upon a gentle riſe, has the appearance of a cottage, conſtructed like thoſe of the peaſants, with trunks of trees piled upon each other, and thatched with ſtraw: beſide the principal building, there are ſeparate cottages for the children and attendants, each with its incloſures and a ſmall garden; this group of ſtructures bears the reſemblance of a ſcattered hamlet. Other buildings, ſuch as ſummer-houſes, pavilions, ruſtic ſheds, and ruins, are diſperſed through the grounds; and the ſtables are conſtructed in the form of a half-demoliſhed amphitheatre. Several romantic bridges, rudely compoſed of the trunks and bent branches of trees, contribute to heighten the ruſticity of the ſcenery.

On our arrival we repaired to the principal cottage, where the princeſs was ready to receive us. We expected the inſide to be furniſhed in the ſimple ſtyle of a peaſant's hovel; but were ſurprized to find every ſpecies of elegant magnificence which riches and taſte could collect. All the apartments are decorated in the moſt coſtly manner; but the ſplendour of the bath-room is peculiarly

culiarly ſtriking; the ſides are covered with ſmall ſquare pieces of Dreſden porcelain, ornamented with an elegant ſprig; and the border and cieling are painted in beautiful feſtoons. The expence of fitting up this apartment muſt have been prodigious; as each piece of china coſt at Dreſden three ducats*. Having ſurveyed all the apartments, we proceeded to an incloſure near the houſe, ſurrounded with large blocks of granite and fallen trees placed in the moſt natural and pictureſque manner; here we drank tea upon the lawn. From thence we repaired to the cottages inhabited by the children, which are fitted up in different ſtyles, but with equal elegance.

After walking round the grounds, the company adjourned to a Turkiſh tent of rich and curious workmanſhip, pitched in a retired field near the ruined amphitheatre. This tent belonged to the grand-vizier, and was taken during the late war between the Ruſſians and the Turks: within was a ſettee, and a carpet ſpread upon the ground. Here we remained converſing until duſk, when the princeſs propoſed returning; ſhe led us through the houſe to a ſmall ſpot of riſing ground, where we were ſuddenly ſtruck with a moſt beautiful illumination. A ruſtic bridge, of a ſingle arch, thrown over a broad piece of water, was

* About 11. 7s. 6d.

ſtudded

ſtudded with ſeveral thouſand lamps of different colours; the reflection was ſo ſtrong as to deceive the eye, and gave it the appearance of a brilliant circle ſuſpended in the air. While we ſtopped to admire this delightful ſcene, a band of muſic ſtruck up at a little diſtance, and amuſed us with an excellent concert. We were led from this enchanting ſpot, acroſs the illuminated bridge, to a thatched pavilion, open at the ſides, and ſupported by pillars ornamented with feſtoons of flowers; we found within a cold collation, and ſat down to a table covered with all kinds of delicacies, with the moſt coſtly wines, and almoſt every ſpecies of fruit which art or nature could furniſh. The evening was delightful, the ſcenery picturesque, the fare delicious; the company in good ſpirits; for who could be otherwiſe, when every circumſtance, which the taſte and ingenuity of our fair hoſteſs could invent, conſpired to heighten the entertainment?

The collation being ended, we roſe from table, which I concluded to be the cloſe of the entertainment, but was agreeably diſappointed: the gardens were ſuddenly illuminated; we ranged about as fancy dictated, and were gratified with the ſound of wind inſtruments in different parts of the grounds. We repaſſed the bridge, and returned into the cottage, when the two eldeſt daughters

daughters of the princeſs, habited in Grecian dreſſes of elegant ſimplicity, performed a Poliſh and Coſſac dance; the former ſerious and graceful, the latter comic and lively. The eldeſt ſon, a boy eight years of age, next performed a hornpipe with great agility, and afterwards a dance in the ſtyle of the Poliſh peaſants with much humour. It was now paſt two in the morning; but as there muſt be an end of all ſublunary joys, we took our leave, expreſſing our thanks and gratitude in language inadequate to our feelings. Imagination can ſcarcely form a *fête champêtre* ſo elegant, and I am perſuaded it will ſeldom fall to the lot of the ſame perſon to partake of ſuch a pleaſing entertainment twice in his life.

The day before our departure we dined with the biſhop of Plotſko, the king's brother, at his palace of Jabloniſka, ſituated eight miles from Warſaw, near the banks of the Viſtula, conſtructed after the deſign, and at the expence, of the king. One of the apartments, called the Turkiſh ſaloon, is remarkable for its elegance and ſingularity; it is in the Oriental taſte, of an oblong ſhape, very lofty, with a fountain in the middle, ſurrounded with a *parterre* of flowers; between the *parterre* and ſides of the room are ranges of Turkiſh ſophas. The variegated tints and rich fragrance of the flowers, joined to the

tranſ-

tranſparency and murmurs of the fountain, produce a moſt pleaſing effect; and, together with the coolneſs of the apartment, render it a delicious retreat from the heats of ſummer.

In the evening we accompanied prince Staniſlaus to his majeſty's villa, well aſſured of paſſing an intereſting evening; but it was now embittered with the reflection that this was the laſt time of our admiſſion to the company of this amiable monarch. In the following converſation I had an additional proof of his humanity and condeſcenſion: "You have been to the priſons*, and I am afraid you found them in a wretched condition." To have mentioned all their abuſes, when I knew that his majeſty could not correct them, would only have been an inſult. I endeavoured therefore to palliate my anſwer, by remarking, what is but too true, that in ſeveral inſtances they were not ſo ill regulated as in England. "I am ſurprized," returned the king, "that a nation, which juſtly piques itſelf for humanity, ſhould be deficient in ſo eſſential an article of police." I then ventured, with as much delicacy as poſſible, to point out a material abuſe in the priſons of Warſaw, which might probably be in his majeſty's power to alleviate at leaſt, if not to remedy. The circumſtance alluded to was, that there is no ſeparate room for

* See the latter part of Chap. 5.

the

the accommodation of ſick priſoners; at the ſame time I apologized for this inſtance of preſumption, which nothing but compaſſion for the unfortunate could extort from me. "He who pleads the cauſe of the unhappy," replied the king, "is always liſtened to with pleaſure;" an expreſſion I ſhall never forget, and which convinced me, by the pathetic manner in which it was uttered, that it was the real ſentiment of his heart. The turn of the converſation led the king to enlarge upon the code of laws preparing for the inſpection of the approaching diet; when he expatiated, with peculiar ſatisfaction, upon ſome beneficial regulations calculated to promote the impartial adminiſtration of juſtice. "Happy Engliſhmen!" exclaimed the king, "your houſe is raiſed, and mine is yet to build."

After ſupper, which paſſed no leſs agreeably than the preceding entertainments, we were preſented to take leave; the king condeſcended to inquire the route we intended to take, and to point out objects worthy of obſervation. "Your majeſty," I ventured to obſerve, "has omitted the manufactures which you have eſtabliſhed at Grodno*." "An Engliſhman," replied the king, "after having ſeen the manufactures of his own country, will find little deſerving his curioſity in any other, and particularly in this kingdom,

* See Chap. 6. article GRODNO.

where

where there is a ſettled averſion to commerce. The eſtabliſhment at Grodno is but a beginning: I conſider it only as a pledge of my future intentions." I then mentioned the new regulations in the univerſity of Vilna, and the foundation of a phyſic-garden at Grodno. "You are deceived by the ſimilarity of names. An Engliſh univerſity is as much ſuperior to foreign ſeminaries, as your nation excels all others in the cultivation of literature, and the encouragement of genius and abilities. The academy at Vilna is more the image of what it was, and of what it ought to be, than an object of a traveller's curioſity." He then graciouſly expreſſed his regret at our departing ſo ſoon from Warſaw, and, wiſhing us a good journey, retired.

I ſhall not, I flatter myſelf, appear too minute in relating theſe circumſtances; the familiar incidents of domeſtic life place the character of a ſoverign in a truer point of view than the ſplendid occurrences of public grandeur, where the real diſpoſition is often diſguiſed by form, or ſacrificed to policy.

Such were the remarks which I made at Warſaw in 1779; a ſecond viſit to the ſame capital, in 1785, furniſhed me with little additional matter.

May 29, 1785. About ſeventy miles from Konigſberg, quitting the Black Eagle of Pruſſia, we

we recogniſed the White Eagle of Poland, and, paſſing through ſeveral miſerable villages, reached, on the evening of the 31ſt, Warſaw, without meeting with a ſingle object worthy of attention, or a ſingle adventure worthy of notice.

Having before deſcribed our preſentation at court, and reception from Staniſlaus Auguſtus, I ſhall not again repeat ſimilar marks of condeſcendence and benignity with which I was honoured by that amiable ſovereign, nor the hoſpitable manner in which I was again received by the Poliſh nobility.

The reader will recollect that, in my firſt viſit to Warſaw, I deſcribed Poland as almoſt a Ruſſian province, governed by the embaſſador * of Catharine the Second.

In

* The influence of the king of Poland was ſo inconſiderable, that on the vacancy of every office, even in the king's houſehold, applications were made to the Ruſſian embaſſador. In communicating this information, count Stackelberg added, "Even on the death of a page, the other day, I was teazed with applications."

Another anecdote, communicated from the ſame authority, ſtill further diſplays the great influence of Ruſſia in Poland, and the extreme dependance of the king. Stackelberg received orders from the empreſs, to aſſiſt the king, in obtaining from the diet, a ſum for the payment of his debts, which amounted to 10,000,000 florins; but not openly, unleſs it was abſolutely neceſſary. The king propoſed demanding this ſum; but on ſounding the inclinations of the leading members, deemed it prudent to require only 7,000,000. He met, however, with ſuch oppoſition, as induced him to inform the Ruſſian embaſſador, that he relinquiſhed

In the ſecond tour, I found the whole kingdom in the ſame ſtate of ſubjection to Ruſſia as in my firſt expedition, and fatally announcing, by

quiſhed all hopes of ſucceſs, and would not propoſe it. Early the next morning, the king's friends wrote to the embaſſador that his majeſty was in deep dejection, and requeſted him to promiſe the king his influence at the next diet; with which he complied, and ſucceeded by a public application.

On this occaſion I cannot omit adding an intereſting anecdote which delicacy prevented me from diſcloſing during the lives of the perſons to whom it relates, as it diſplays the extreme ſenſibility of the king, and the reſtraint under which he laboured in the preſence of the Ruſſian embaſſador.

The king having condeſcended to ſhew us his villa, as he was conducting us through the upper ſuite of apartments, in company with count Stackelberg, I noticed a book on the library table, which contained the principal documents on the partition of Poland *. Expreſſing my curioſity to examine a publication on that intereſting event, and addreſſing myſelf to his majeſty in Engliſh, the king interrupted me by placing his finger on his lips, as an indication of ſilence, and paſſed into another apartment. At the concluſion of ſupper, one of his majeſty's officers conducted me to the door of the library. On entering, I found the king alone, ſtanding by the ſide of the table. "I obſerved," he ſaid, pointing to the book, "that you teſtified great curiority to examine this work: The abrupt manner in which I interrupted your inquiries, might perhaps appear rude; but I was unwilling to converſe on the ſubject before the Ruſſian embaſſador. He then, in an affecting tone of voice, and an animated ſtrain of eloquence, adverted to the menaces of the Pruſſian, Auſtrian, and Ruſſian courts.

"If I had time, he ſaid, to expatiate on the ſecret hiſtory of that eventful period, and could deſcribe the menaces of the Ruſſian em-

* Recueil des declarations, notes et faits principaux, qui ont precédé et accompagne la Diète Confederée depuis le 18 Septembre 1772 juſqu'à 14 Mai 1773. 4to.

baſſador

by a total dependance on a foreign power, its ſad decline from its former preponderance in the North, and the wretched conſtitution by which it is governed.

baſſador, the perſonal mortifications which I endured, and the certainty of involving my family in ruin, had I refuſed my ſignature, it would perhaps extenuate my apparent want of firmneſs, which has been ſo much calumniated. This book contains the principal documents relative to that unfortunate tranſaction, and is the only juſtification of my conduct. You will find therein the declarations of the miniſters of the three powers, the anſwers of the Poliſh miniſters, and the four ſpeeches which I addreſſed to the diet, in which you will perceive that I did not conceal my ſentiments, and that I openly teſtified my repugnance to the act of diſmemberment." He then recapitulated the heads of his celebrated ſpeech on the 10th of May. He dwelt with peculiar emphaſis on that part, where he appealed to the nation at large, if he had ever broken a ſingle article of the Pacta Conventa. "I demand of you, with the confidence of the prophet, my people, what have I done? Behold here I am, witneſs againſt me. Whoſe ox have I taken, or whom have I defrauded; whom have I oppreſſed, or of whoſe hand have I received any bribe to blind mine eyes, and I will reſtore it to you." "Here," he added, "I ſat down, and had I been guilty of oppreſſion or fraud, doubtleſs numbers would have accuſed me; for I was without ſupport, and almoſt without a ſingle friend to ſpeak in my favour. A dead ſilence for more than ten minutes enſued: I then roſe again, and concluded my juſtification."

During this ſcene, the violence of his emotions almoſt ſtifled his voice, and tears ſtreamed down his cheeks; haſtily taking up the book, he put it into my hands, adding, "this is my only apology, read it, and judge of my conduct; and I am happy in preſenting it to an Engliſhman whom I eſteem." He then bowed, and I retired.

The impreſſion of this affecting ſcene will never be eraſed from my memory, and I keep this work as a relic of this amiable and unfortunate monarch.

Although

ALTHOUGH it is foreign to my purpoſe to notice any changes which took place in Poland ſince my departure, in May 1785, yet I cannot avoid remarking, that in 1789 and 1790, the empreſs of Ruſſia loſt her influence, withdrew her troops, and recalled her embaſſador; and the natives made ſome efforts to increaſe and diſcipline their army, and raiſe their conſequence in the conſideration of Europe.

The permanent council was aboliſhed, and ſeveral alterations introduced into the form of government, tending to emancipate the country from the influence of Ruſſia, and to reſtore it to itſelf, if it is poſſible to reſtore a country, in which faction and anarchy are the characteriſtic features.

But as long as the monarchy continues elective*, as long as the nobles and gentry alone enjoy the right of poſſeſſing land, and as long as the peaſants are ſlaves, all alterations in the form of government muſt be merely nominal, and its eſſence muſt ſtill continue the ſame. The king muſt always be a puppet in the hands of his moſt powerful neigh-

* The reader will recollect, that theſe remarks were made when Poland was an *elective* monarchy; what effect the late ſurpriſing revolution, in 1791, which, if permanent, has introduced an *hereditary* monarchy, may have on this hitherto convulſed kingdom, is an inquiry foreign from the preſent work.

bour, and the nobles, in whom are veſted the ſupreme authority, turbulent, and above controul, except awed by ſome foreign power.

In fact, Poland has no nerve or vigour of its own, but receives impulſe from one of the ſurrounding powers. By the change of northern politics, the king of Pruſſia, in alliance with Great Britain and Holland, has ſucceeded to the influence before poſſeſſed by Catharine the Second, and directs the republic almoſt with the ſame unbounded ſway. But the fate of Poland, like that of its vaſſal the duke of Courland, muſt ultimately depend on the event of the preſent war between Ruſſia and the Turks, and on the final tendency of the negotiations, either to enlarge or to confine the preponderance of Ruſſia in the ſcale of the North.

Addition

Addition—JUNE 1, 1801.

Since theſe reflections were made, Poland is no more! The abolition of an elective monarchy, and the formation of a new conſtitution on the baſis of hereditary ſovereignty, which gave ſanguine hopes of emancipation from foreign influence, were but of temporary duration. At this criſis, Great Britain, who had promoted the emancipation of Poland, having ſuſpended her hoſtile preparations againſt Ruſſia, and Auſtria being embarraſſed in a conteſt with France, Poland was left to her fate. The empreſs having dictated peace to the Turks, lured the king of Pruſſia with the offer of Dantzick and Thorn, which the Poles had refuſed to cede, as the price of his guaranty of the new conſtitution. Poland was accordingly inundated with Ruſſian and Pruſſian troops, compelled to reſume her ancient conſtitution, and ſubmit to a new diſmemberment, which took place in the beginning of 1793, and deprived her of half her remaining population and revenue.

In this ſtate of imbecility, without an army, without revenue, and without union, a ſmall but deſperate band of Poles, headed by Koſciuſko, made a convulſive effort to regain the independence of their country. But after a ſhort dawn of ſucceſs, which increaſed their numbers without increaſing their union, this undiſciplined

body was overpowered by the Ruſſian and Pruſſian forces, the king compelled to abdicate, and the whole country incorporated in the dominions of Ruſſia, Pruſſia, and Auſtria.

The hiſtory of theſe tranſactions is too recent to need recapitulation; but the reader will probably be intereſted in the fate of the amiable monarch, whoſe life formed a ſeries of the moſt extraordinary and calamitous events.

After his abdication, Staniſlaus reſided at Grodno, a kind of ſtate priſoner. His debts, which were very conſiderable, were diſcharged, and he enjoyed an annual revenue of 200,000 ducats. On expreſſing his averſion to reſide in his former kingdom in a ſtate of vaſſalage, the empreſs offered him a palace at Moſcow; but he requeſted permiſſion to retire to Rome, where many abdicated ſovereigns had found an aſylum, and where his love for the fine arts might contribute to ſoothe his regret for his loſt authority. Permiſſion being granted, he was preparing for his departure, when the invaſion of Italy by the French compelled him to relinquiſh his favourite object. He then deſired to transfer the place of his retreat to Mittau, and the death of the empreſs intervening, renewed his application to Paul. The emperor returned an anſwer with his own hand, and invited him to Peterſburgh, an invitation which the abdicated ſovereign conſidered

ſidered as a mandate, and could not venture to diſobey *.

Staniſlaus arrived at Peterſburg early in 1797, and according to the appointment of the ſovereign, fixed his reſidence in the marble palace on the banks of the Neva.

During the firſt winter he was treated with reſpect and attention by the emperor and the court. His amiable diſpoſition led him to ſhare frequently, and with apparent ſatisfaction, the ſplendid amuſements which the Ruſſian nobles readily prepared for ſo diſtinguiſhed a ſtranger. He viſited on familiar terms the pricipal nobility, and the attendance of two pages in the antichamber, alone recalled to recollection his fallen dignity; but from the moment he entered the room, he was only diſtinguiſhed as the moſt amiable man in the ſociety. His fondneſs for theatrical amuſements followed him in his retreat; he ſeemed to derive much pleaſure from the private repreſentations given by the nobles, and even fitted up a ſmall theatre in the marble palace.

* He might have ſaid, with the depoſed Richard, in the words of his favourite Shakeſpear:

"Alack! why am I ſent for to a king,
Before I have ſhook off the regal thoughts
Wherewith I reign'd? I hardly yet have learn'd
To inſinuate, flatter, bow, and bend my knee;
Give ſorrow leave a while to tutor me
To this ſubmiſſion."

His taſte for the fine arts formed another ſource of amuſement, and he was permitted to aſſemble the few ſpecimens which were ſaved from the general wreck. Several of theſe were accepted by the emperor as preſents; ſome were diſtributed in various parts of the palace, and two ſtatues of exquiſite workmanſhip, were placed in the ſplendid hall of St. George, and acknowledged as the gift of Staniſlaus, while accepting the hoſpitality of Paul the firſt.

In the morning it was his uſual cuſtom, if the weather and his health permitted, to take the exerciſe of riding. He mounted a ſmall but favourite horſe, which he had poſſeſſed many years, and often mentioned with great affection, as having carried him in the moſt critical moments of his life. On theſe occaſions, he was attended by his aide de camp, maſter of the horſe, pages, and a numerous ſuite, and received from the populace of St. Peterſburgh the ſame honours as were paid to the Imperial family. But he ſubmitted to this ceremony rather in conformity to the wiſhes of the emperor, than from any ſatisfaction he himſelf derived from ſuch a mockery of royal retinue.

During the ſummer, the emperor allotted for his reſidence the palace of Camminioſtroff, which he had himſelf occaſionally inhabited whilſt Grand Duke, and which was only diſtant three miles

miles from the capital. From this place he paid viſits to the neighbouring nobility, attended the court at Gatchina, and frequented the annual galas at the Imperial palace of Peterhoff.

The king's family conſiſted of his ſiſter, widow of John Zamoiſki, waivode of Podolia, her daughter, and her ſon-in-law M. Miniſhec, who was marſhal of the court, his natural ſon, M. Chihotſky, who was his aide de camp, a French eccleſiaſtic, and two chamberlains. Theſe, with perhaps two or three perſons nominally holding offices in his eſtabliſhment, were admitted to his table. The other attendants had grown old round his perſon, and ſerved with unſhaken fidelity amidſt all his afflictions. Among theſe was a native Pole, who retained the national habit. Although deaf and dumb, he was much employed by the king. From long experience in his royal maſter's habits of life, and from a degree of intelligence, not unuſual in thoſe deprived of the ordinary ſources of knowledge, he was extremely uſeful by receiving orders which no indifferent perſon could comprehend, and thus relieved the king from the officious offers of politeneſs, to which he would otherwiſe have been expoſed. His kindneſs to this dumb attendant, and the ſatisfaction he expreſſed in relieving his company from frequent aſſiduities, gave a ſtrong proof of his benevolence and politeneſs.

According to the cuſtom of the country the king dined at three; he occaſionally gave entertainments to numerous gueſts, but uſually admitted to his table a few perſons whom he honoured with familiar intercourſe; and on theſe occaſions his ſociety was truly engaging, from his unceaſing affability and flow of converſation.

The company, as uſual on the continent, retired immediately after dinner. The king then went to his cabinet, and remained till one of his chamberlains announced the arrival of the more formal viſitors, when he again returned to the drawing room. A circle was immediately formed, no one attempted to ſit, the king ſucceſſively addreſſed the company, and on this occaſion alone preſerved ſome remains of the ſtate and etiquette of royalty. At the concluſion of this ceremony the king, if he had no particular engagement, retired again to his cabinet, and in the evening admitted his familiar viſitors, and occaſionally entertained them with concerts of muſic, of which he was extremely fond. Theſe hours of relaxation were particularly intereſting to thoſe who had the honour of enjoying his intimate ſociety, as his converſation was more unreſerved, and rendered highly impreſſive by his benevolence, refined taſte, and the reflections derived from the various incidents of his chequered life.

His

His attachment to England continued undiminished; he was particularly inquisitive on our domestic state, and appeared anxious to ascertain the practical application of those principles of our constitution, which he had collected from reading. He always mentioned with great affection the university of Oxford, and expressed extreme satisfaction at the honourable manner in which a degree was conferred on him.

He was particularly struck with examining a copy of the statutes, which were shewn him by an English gentleman. "I felt at first surprised," said he, "to find that a learned society, like the university of Oxford, should retain such obsolete statutes as their body of laws. But it is with this as with your constitution; though much obsolete matter exists, the practical operation is for the general good. Nothing seems to mark the diffusion of common sense throughout your country, more than this circumstance, that you can constitutionally bend to every event, and that while your laws appear to a foreigner a mass of confusion, he sees order in effect arising out of it." In the course of the conversation, he observed, "Your laws promise little to the eye of a foreigner, on paper; but astonish him by their effect. I think you and I know a country where the laws are very prettily written*; but the

* Probably alluding to the codes of Frederick the Second, and Catherine the Second.

subject

ſubject is little benefited by them, when brought into execution."

He ſtudiouſly avoided all alluſion to his regal ſtation, and to the incidents of his unfortunate reign; and when by accident the recollection of former events was forced upon his mind, he betrayed ſuch ſtrong emotions of ſenſibility and regret, that it became a duty in his viſitors to change the ſubject of diſcourſe.

He was ſtill more affected with the attachment of the Poles, who on entering the room, at his private entertainments, ſeized his hand and kiſſed it with enthuſiaſtic affection. It is impoſſible to conceive the painful emotions which the abdicated ſovereign betrayed on theſe occaſions.

Such was the general outline of the king's private life, during his reſidence at St. Peterſburgh. But his ſituation was greatly embittered by the ſtate of his finances, and the capricious conduct of Paul.

Although his annual penſion of 200,000 ducats was punctually diſcharged; yet he ſuffered much embarraſſment from the repeated claims of thoſe who had ſupplied him with money in his diſtreſs, or of thoſe whoſe faithful ſervices and ſufferings, on his account, entitled them to his aſſiſtance, or indemnification. Almoſt every poſt brought letters from his Poliſh adherents, urging demands which he was unable to gratify.

The

The fallen ſovereign experienced numerous inſtances of humiliation from the capricious ſovereign of Ruſſia, which greatly affected a perſon of his extreme ſenſibility. At firſt the emperor loaded him with marks of reſpect and attention; but the effect of his arrival had no ſooner ſubſided, than the unfortunate monarch was ſubjected to repeated mortifications; and although human nature recoils at the idea, forced into public for the purpoſe of being inſulted. He was often ſeen at court, where his conſtant attendance was expected, remaining for hours unnoticed by the ſovereign, ſeparated by his rank from the foreign miniſters, every heart bleeding for his ſituation, and no one daring to approach him.

He was dragged to witneſs the humiliating ſpectacle of the emperor's coronation at Moſcow; and compelled to hear the recital of the act, by which part of his kingdom was incorporated with the Ruſſian empire. At this ceremony, oppreſſed by fatigue and agitation of ſpirits, he ventured to lean againſt his ſeat; but the emperor ſuſpended the recital, and ſent his aide de camp to order him to riſe.

During the laſt year of his life, the diſpleaſure of Paul fell on all thoſe who ventured to form part of his ſociety; he was accordingly deſerted by the Ruſſians, and ſcarcely any but foreigners, and

and a few of his own ſubjects, frequented the palace. Their company ſeemed to revive his ſpirits, and he conſidered every viſit not as a mark of attention, but of affection.

He appeared in public to bear this harſh treatment with magnanimity and compoſure; but in private, ſuffered agonies of mind which ſurpaſs deſcription. His reſt was diſturbed, he was heard to groan moſt bitterly, burſt frequently into tears, and utter ejaculations to Heaven, which petrified with horror thoſe who ſlept in the adjoining apartments.

For a few days before his death, the king recovered his ſpirits, and entered, with apparent ſatisfaction, into the relaxations and amuſements of his little circle. The evening which preceded his diſſolution, he was unuſually compoſed and cheerful, and arranged a muſical party for the ſubſequent afternoon. The next morning he roſe at his uſual hour, drank coffee, and retired to his cloſet, where he was ſeized with an apoplectic fit, and lay ſome time before he was diſcovered. All medical aſſiſtance was ineffectual, he retained only a few ſymptoms of animation, and uttered ſome incoherent words in the French language, which were interpreted by thoſe who were preſent, as an effort to call for his confeſſor. The prieſt being ſummoned, read a few prayers, in which the king appeared to join with fervour, till

till he relapſed into ſtupor, and ſoon expired. This event, which terminated the ſeries of Poliſh ſovereigns, happened on the 12th of February, 1798.

The next day the body was embalmed, and after lying in ſtate, was interred in the catholic church, with royal and military honours. On this occaſion Paul in perſon commanded the guards who attended the funeral; he waited on horſeback at the gate of the marble palace, and on the approach of the coffin uncovered himſelf, and ſaluted as it paſſed. At the ſolemnization of the funeral, maſs was performed with great ceremony, accompanied with a favourite piece of muſic, compoſed at the king's deſire by Koſlovſky, which had never been heard in public.

The family of the king retired from Peterſburgh, and his attendants were either taken into the emperor's ſervice, or received ſmall penſions for the remainder of their lives. His effects were ſold by public auction, and even his robes were not exempted from this humiliating inſtance of fallen grandeur. It ought to be recorded, to the honour of the Ruſſians, that they teſtified their reſpect, by bidding largely for tokens of his memory; and that his favourite little horſe was ſold for a conſiderable ſum.

CHAP. 4.

Deſcription of the palace of Villanow.—Account of John Sobieſki. Circumſtances of his death.—Intrigues of his queen.—Diviſion and cabals of his family.—Fortunes of his children.—Extinction of his name.—Genealogical table of his deſcendants.

AUGUST 6, 1779. We paſſed the day at Villanow, where we dined with prince Zartoriſki, uncle to the king. He is a venerable old man, near fourſcore, and lives in the true ſtyle of ancient hoſpitality: he is conſtantly attended by his own guards, which I mention, not as being peculiar to him, who enjoys the firſt offices of the republic, but becauſe it leads me to remark, that every Poliſh nobleman may have as many guards as he can afford to maintain. The prince keeps an open table, at which there are ſeldom leſs then twenty or thirty covers. His annual revenues amount to near £. 100,000, and his ſtyle of living correſponds to this great income.

Villanow was built by John Sobieſki the conqueror of the Turks and deliverer of Vienna; and was the favourite reſidence of that great monarch, where he moſtly lived when not in arms, and where he cloſed his days. The palace, being ſold after his death, came by marriage into the

family of Zartoriſki, and was lent to Auguſtus II. who conſiderably enlarged it. The outſide is ornamented with baſſo relievos, repreſenting the principal victories of John Sobieſki, which were probably added by Auguſtus; for Sobieſki was too modeſt and unaſſuming to erect monuments of his own glory,

The æra of John Sobieſki, ſplendid in itſelf, appears more luminous, when contraſted with the darkneſs which preceded and followed. The reigns of his predeceſſor and ſucceſſor were convulſed with internal commotions; but the ſpirit of diſcord and anarchy was laid by his tranſcendent genius. Under his auſpices Poland revived from the calamities which had long oppreſſed her, and regained her ancient ſplendour; ſuch is the powerful aſcendancy of a great and ſuperior mind. His military talents require no other teſtimony than the victory of Chotzim, the recovery of the Ukraine, repeated defeats of the Turks and Tartars, and the delivery of Vienna: while an exact inſight into the laws and conſtitution of his country, a manly and perſuaſive eloquence, a love and protection of literature, an accurate knowledge of foreign languages, and an unceaſing habit of affability, moderation, and temperance, render him no leſs an object of admiration in his civil capacity *. But the monarch, who could allay

* Biſhop South, in his account of Poland, thus deſcribes John Sobieſki:

allay the ferments of public faction, could not ſuppreſs the domeſtic diſſenſions of his own family, and the ſame great prince, who kept a turbulent people in awe, and chaſtiſed the moſt formidable enemies, was himſelf under the controul of his conſort, a French lady *, of exquiſite beauty and elegant manners, but of reſtleſs intrigue, inſatiable avarice, and inordinate ambition. This unprincipled woman fomented a ſpirit of diſunion and jealouſy among her children, and loaded her eldeſt ſon with every ſpecies of indignity. She formed and ſupported an adminiſtration called, by way of deriſion, the Jewiſh junto, and introduced into the royal houſhold a narrow parſimony unbecoming the dignity of a powerful ſovereign: in a word, by a ſeries of

Sobieſki: "The king is a very well-ſpoken prince, very eaſy of acceſs, and extreme civil, having moſt of the qualities requiſite to form a complete gentleman. He is not only well verſed in all military affairs, but likewiſe, through the means of a French education, very opulently ſtored with all polite and ſcholaſtical learning. Beſides his own tongue, the Sclavonian, he underſtands the Latin, French, Italian, German, and Turkiſh languages: He delights much in natural hiſtory, and in all the parts of phyſic. He is wont to reprimand the clergy for not admitting the modern philoſophy, ſuch as Le Grand's and Carteſius's, into the univerſities and ſchools." South's Poſthumous Works, p. 24.

* Marie de la Grange, daughter of Henry de la Grange captain of the guards to Philip duke of Orleans, and of Frances de la Chartre, was maid of honour to Louiſa queen of Ladiſlaus IV. She firſt married Radzivil prince of Zamoſki; and within a month after his deceaſe ſecretly eſpouſed John Sobieſki, to whom ſhe brought in dower a large portion and the favour of his ſovereign.

offenſive

offenſive and wicked meaſures, ſhe alienated from her huſband the affection of his ſubjects, and rendered the cloſe of his reign as odious, as the preceding part had been popular and glorious.

The decline of Sobieſki's life was clouded with affliction. He felt himſelf a prey to a lingering diſeaſe*; yet, inſtead of deriving comfort from his neareſt connections, he experienced an aggravation of diſtreſs from the unnatural conteſts of his children, and the intriguing ſpirit of his queen. The decay of his authority, and the indecent cabals for the choice of his ſucceſſor, affected a perſon of his extreme ſenſibility, and his ſubjects, inſtead of lamenting, ſeemed eagerly to anticipate his diſſolution. Yet, in this deplorable ſtate, the king's equanimity, founded on religion and philoſophy, did not forſake him, and he retained, even upon his death-bed, that mixture of ſerioufneſs and gaiety, ſtrength of reaſoning and quickneſs of repartee, which ſo ſtrongly marked his character. Zaluſki, biſhop of Plotſko, who was preſent when he expired, has tranſmitted to us ſome ſtriking incidents which preceded his death.

Some alarming ſymptoms in Sobieſki's diſorder, having awakened the queen's ſolicitude reſpecting the ſucceſſion to his fortune, ſhe earneſtly

* His illneſs was a complication of diſorders, gout, ſtone, aſthma, dropſy.

importuned Zaluſki to preſent himſelf to the king, and inſinuate ſome advice concerning the diſpoſition of his affairs. The biſhop, finding the king in an agony of excruciating pain *, endeavoured to give him comfort and hopes of recovery. But Sobieſki replied, "I foreſee my approaching death; my ſituation will be the ſame to-morrow as it is to-day; all conſolation is now too late:" then, with a deep ſigh, aſked him why he came ſo ſeldom to court, and in what manner he employed himſelf at his dioceſe alone?" Zaluſki, after expatiating upon the duties of his epiſcopal office, and the reſources of literature, artfully turned the diſcourſe to the buſineſs in queſtion. "Lately," he ſaid, "I have been employed in no very agreeable, yet neceſſary duty: weighing the frail condition of human nature, remembering, that as Socrates and Plato, ſo all men muſt die, and conſidering the diſſentions which may ariſe among my relations after my deceaſe, I have taken an inventory of my effects, and diſpoſed of them by will." The king, diſcovering the purport of his diſcourſe, interrupted him with a loud laugh, and exclaimed, in a quotation from Juvenal †, [*O medici, mediam contundite venam.*"] "What, my Lord Biſhop! you whoſe judgment

* Zaluſki Epiſt. vol III. p. 5—14.

† Juvenal, Sat. VI. l. 40. "Open a vein." In applying this paſſage, the king meant to inſinuate that the biſhop was mad.

and

and good ſenſe I have long eſteemed, do you make your will? "What an uſeleſs loſs of time!"

Not diſcouraged by this ſally, the biſhop perſevered in ſuggeſting, "that, in juſtice to his family and country, he ought without delay to regulate the diſpoſition of his effects, and declare his final inclinations." "For God's ſake," returned Sobieſki with a more ſerious tone, "do not ſuppoſe that any good will ariſe in this age; when vice has increaſed to ſuch an enormous degree, as almoſt to exclude all hopes of forgiveneſs from the mercy of the Deity! Do you not ſee how great is the public iniquity, tumult, and violence? all ſtrive who ſhall blend good and evil without diſtinction: the morals of my ſubjects are overturned; will you again reſtore them? My orders are not attended to while I am alive, can I expect then to be obeyed when I am dead? That man is happy, who with his own hand diſpoſes of his effects, which cannot be entruſted with ſecurity to his executors; while they who bequeath them by a will act abſurdly, for conſigning to the care of others what is more ſecure in the hands of their neareſt relations. Have not the regulations of the kings my predeceſſors been deſpiſed after their deaths? Where corruption univerſally prevails, judgment is obtained by money: the voice of conſcience is not heard, and reaſon and equity are no more." Then ſud-

deuly giving a ludicrous turn to the converſation, he exclaimed, "What can you ſay to this, Mr. Will-maker* !"

On the 17th of June, the biſhop being again ſummoned to Villanow; the king heard prayers, and was particularly fervent in his devotion. While he was converſing after dinner, with his uſual gaiety, in the preſence of Zaluſki and the abbé Polignac, he was ſuddenly ſeized with a ſtroke of apoplexy; but recovering, confeſſed, and, having received abſolution and extreme unction, expired almoſt without a groan, in the 66th year of his age, and the 23d of his reign, on the ſame day in which he was raiſed to the throne. The name of Sobieſki is now extinct. My veneration for this great man, prompted me to inquire into the fortunes of his family.

Sobieſki † left by his wife Marie de la Grange, three ſons, James, Alexander, and Conſtantine, and a daughter, Thereſa Cunigunda.

James Louis, eldeſt ſon of Sobieſki, was born at Paris in 1667. He accompanied his father to the relief of Vienna, in the 16th year of his age, and narrowly eſcaped being ſlain in an action near Banan in Hungary. He afterwards gave ſuch ſignal proofs of military talents, that on his father's indiſpoſition in the campaign of 1687

* Quid ad hæc, Domine teſtimentarie!

† The abbé Coyer has written the Life of Sobieſki with great ſpirit and fidelity.

againſt

againſt the Turks, he was entruſted with the command of the army, and received from the ſoldiers all the honours uſually paid only to the kings of Poland: a ſingular mark of deference in an elective monarchy, which encouraged an expectation of the throne. But his hopes were fruſtrated by his own indiſcretion, and the reſtleſs intrigues of the queen, who, having conceived the ſtrongeſt antipathy to her eldeſt ſon, and a no leſs violent predilection in favour of her ſecond ſon Alexander, ſacrificed the dignity of her family to a blind impulſe of parental partiality.

Sobieſki had ſcarcely expired, before the cabals, which even his authority could not ſuppreſs, broke out with undiſſembled violence. The diviſion of the king's treaſure cauſed indecent diſputes and altercations between his widow and children. James endeavoured to ſeize it by force, but was anticipated by the queen *, who, with the aſſiſtance of the abbé Polignac, ſent it into France. She had three great objects in view: either to obtain the crown for Alexander, whom ſhe was ſecure of governing; to promote the election of Count Jablonouſki, great general of the crown, with an intention of eſpouſing him; or to favour the pretenſions of the prince of

* The queen ſent 3,000,000 French livres = £. 125,000, into France. Larrey, Hiſt. Louis XIV. v. II. p. 297.

Conti, warmly ſupported by Louis XIV. At al events ſhe was reſolved to procure the excluſion of her eldeſt ſon, and in this point ſhe alone ſucceeded. Had the family of Sobieſki been unanimous, James would have been elected king; but no ſubmiſſion * could ſoften the implacable reſentment of the queen, who, even when ſhe found it impracticable to ſecure the election of Alexander, or to compaſs any of her other deſigns, both in ſecret and openly oppoſed the pretenſions of James. When the diet of convocation aſſembled at Warſaw, the queen ſummoned a meeting of ſenators and nuntios in her apartment, whom ſhe addreſſed, in regard to her ſon, with all the virulence which inveterate fury could inſpire, and all the affected candour towards the Poles, which the moſt conſummate hypocriſy

* Zaluſki has given a curious inſtance of the queen's implacability. "I and other ſenators accompanied prince James to the Queen's at Bieltz, but her majeſty being informed of our approach, retired precipitately from the palace to avoid the interview; we overtook her about a mile from Bieltz, and ordered the driver to ſtop, while ſhe repeatedly urged him to continue his route: at length the coachman, alarmed by our number and threats, ſtopped the carriage. On our advancing to the queen, ſhe received us with great marks of diſpleaſure, and although the prince proſtrated himſelf before her, and embraced her feet with the moſt profound reſpect, he was not able to extort from her more than a ſhort and evaſive anſwer. On his retiring, with his eyes full of tears, I uſed ſome endeavours to ſoften her reſentment, which, however, had no other effect than to draw from her additional expreſſions of diſguſt and indignation." Zaluſki, vol. III. p. 135.

could

could ſuggeſt*. "Although I am not by birth a Pole, I am one by inclination, and am more attached to this nation than to my own family. Reflect maturely whom you will raiſe to the throne in the place of my much-regretted huſband, and I ſincerely recommend to you not to elect one of my children. I too well know all their diſpoſitions, and particularly caution you againſt the eldeſt prince James. His inconſiderate raſhneſs will involve the kingdom in ſpeedy and inevitable ruin." The biſhop of Plotſko, though her creature, diſguſted at theſe appearances of unnatural rancour, importuned her to deſiſt; but ſhe exclaimed with greater violence: "Do not interrupt me; I will never retract what I have ſaid, as I prefer the ſafety of the republic to my own intereſts and the ſplendour of my family. I again exhort the Poles to elect any candidate in preference to one of my children." This virulent oppoſition to the views of her eldeſt ſon was too ſucceſsful: he was rejected by a great majority, and the choice of the nation fell upon Auguſtus elector of Saxony.

After the defeat of Auguſtus II. at the battle of Cliſſow, Charles XII. determined to give a new king to Poland, and his veneration for the memory of John Sobieſki induced him to offer that dignity to his eldeſt ſon. In conſequence of

* Zaluſki, vol. III. p. 102.

this reſolution, Auguſtus was declared by the primate unworthy to reign, and a diet of election was convened at Warſaw. James was then at Breſlaw, impatiently expecting his nomination to the throne; but the uſual ſingularity of his ill-fortune ſtill purſued him: as he was hunting with his brother Conſtantine, on the 25th February 1704, a detachment of Saxon horſemen ſurprized and conveyed him to the caſtle of Pleiſſenburgh near Leipſic. Conſtantine* might have eſcaped; but, from an impulſe of fraternal affection, he voluntarily accompanied his brother into confinement, and adminiſtered conſolation under this grievous reverſe of fortune.

In September, 1706, the two brothers were removed to the fortreſs of Koningſtein; but in December fortunately obtained their enlargement, on the requeſt of Charles XII. at the concluſion of the treaty in which Auguſtus II. was compelled to abdicate the throne. This abdication, however, did not revive the pretenſions of James, the election having fallen, during his confinement, upon Staniſlaus Letzinſki. From this period James paſſed a retired life, and renounced all views upon the crown of Poland. He died in 1737 at Zolkiew in Red Ruſſia, in the 70th year of his age, and in him, as the laſt male of his family, the name of Sobieſki became

* Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 342.

extinct,

extinct. By his wife Hedwige Eleonora*, daughter of Philip William elector palatine, he left two daughters, Mary Charlotte and Clementina Mary.

The eldeſt, Mary Charlotte, married in 1723 Frederic Maurice de la Tour duke of Bouillon, who dying within a few days after the marriage, ſhe eſpouſed, with a diſpenſation from the pope, his brother Charles Godfrey the ſame year. By him ſhe left iſſue a ſon, the duke of Bouillon,

* Siſter of Eleonora Magdalena, wife of the emperor Leopold. James had been firſt contracted in marriage to the widow of the elector of Brandenburgh's brother, a rich heireſs of the houſe of Radzivil in Lithuania, but upon this occaſion he firſt experienced that ill fortune which afterwards attended him through life. "An envoy was ſent to Berlin to negotiate the marriage, which was agreed upon by the elector's and her conſent, and the prince himſelf came thither in perſon, with a numerous attendance, to conſummate it. At the ſame time came to Berlin the elector palatine's brother, prince Charles of Newburg, brother to the empreſs, to ſee the ceremony of the marriage; but this princeſs, taking more fancy to him than to the prince of Poland, gave him encouragement to make his addreſſes to her, which he did with that ſucceſs, that he engaged her ſo far and ſo unexpectedly, that he was privately married to her the night before ſhe was to be married to the Prince of Poland, ſo that prince James was forced to return back ſhamefully: which the king his father reſented ſo highly, that he was reſolved to have ſatisfaction from the elector of Brandenburg, for ſuffering his ſon to receive ſo notorious an affront at his court; but the elector, knowing nothing of that private intrigue, juſtified himſelf, and all animoſities were at laſt adjuſted by prince James's marrying his rival's ſiſter the princeſs of Newburg, who was ſent into Poland, and has two daughters by him." Connor's Hiſtory of Poland, v. II. p. 188, 189.

married

married to a lady of the houſe of Lorraine, and a daughter, who eſpouſed the duke of Rohan-Rohan. In theſe noble perſons and their progeny the female line of Sobieſki ſtill exiſts.

Clementina Mary, youngeſt daughter of prince James, married at Monteſiaſcone, in 1719, James Edward Stuart, commonly known by the name of the Chevalier de St. George, the pretender to the Britiſh throne. This princeſs, though a woman of great perſonal and mental endowments, could not engage the affection of her huſband; offended at his attachment to a favourite miſtreſs, ſhe withdrew from his houſe, and remained for ſome time in a convent near Rome. She was afterwards reconciled to him, and died at Rome on the 18th of June, 1735, aged 33; her death, according to the account of a writer * attached to the Stuart family, was occaſioned by religious abſtinence and too ſevere mortifications: her remains were interred with regal pomp in the church of St. Peter, where a monument was erected to her memory. She left two ſons by the Chevalier: Charles, uſually termed count of Albany, and Henry, cardinal of York. Charles married the princeſs of Stolberg, by whom he had no children: a miſunderſtanding ſoon after their marriage taking place,

* Letters from a Painter in Italy, where her funeral and monument are deſcribed, v. II. p. 56.

ſhe

ſhe quitted her huſband, and took ſhelter in a convent in the Tuſcan dominions, and, her quarrel being eſpouſed by the cardinal of York, ſhe obtained a ſeparation for life. We may therefore foreſee the extinction of the Sobieſki line in the Stuart branch*. The ample patrimony of James Sobieſki was divided equally between his two daughters. Having lent a conſiderable ſum to the houſe of Auſtria, he obtained in return a mortgage upon certain eſtates in Sileſia, which, on the diviſion of the property after his deceaſe, fell to the Stuart family, and were in their poſſeſſion when the king of Pruſſia ſecured Sileſia in 1740. But Frederic having confiſcated theſe lands, by right of conqueſt, the houſe of Auſtria never made any further compenſation.

Alexander, ſecond ſon of John Sobieſki, born at Dantzic in 1677; after the elevation of his father to the throne, was uſually ſtyled by his mother, who adored him, the ſon of the king; while ſhe affected to call his brother James, the ſon of the great marſhal. Excited by his mother's partiality, and inflamed by ambition, he even aſpired to the throne in oppoſition to his elder brother; afterwards however, more mature age having corrected his paſſions, and his mother's influence ceaſing to miſlead him, he de-

* He died in 1788.

clined,

clined, from a principle of fraternal affection, the acceptance of the crown offered by Charles XII. on the impriſonment of James; he refuſed it with this generous declaration, "that no intereſt ſhould tempt him to avail himſelf of his brother's misfortunes*."

Alexander paſſed his days principally at Rome, with the queen his mother; but never made his appearance at the pope's court, becauſe Clement XI. refuſed to receive him with the marks of diſtinction which he claimed as a king's ſon. The honours which were withheld from him while alive, were granted when dead: his body lay in regal ſtate, and was interred with the ſame ceremonies which attended the funeral of Chriſtina queen of Sweden. He expired in June 1714, having aſſumed upon his death-bed the habit of a capuchin, from a ſuperſtitious notion of enſuring his ſalvation†.

Conſtantine, having regained his liberty at the ſame time with his brother James, married a German baroneſs, maid of honour to the princeſs of Neuburg; a marriage of paſſion, ſoon followed by repentance, and from which he in vain endeavoured to procure a releaſe by a divorce. He deceaſed in 1726 without children.

Thereſa Cunigunda, the daughter of John

* Voltaire's Charles XII. p. 90.

† Vie de Sobieſki, v. III. p. 176.

Sobieſki,

Sobieſki, married in 1696 Maximilian Emanuel elector of Bavaria, and died a widow in 1730. Her ſon Charles Albert, who ſucceeded to the electorate of Bavaria, was the unfortunate emperor Charles VII. and her grandſon Maximilian Joſeph expired in 1778 without iſſue. Her grand-daughter Maria Antoinette married Frederic Chriſtian elector of Saxony, and the blood of John Sobieſki flows in the veins of their progeny, the preſent electoral family.

Marie de la Grange paſſed the firſt part of her widowhood at Rome with her father the marquis of Arquien, who was captain of the Swiſs guards to the duke of Orleans, and promoted by her intereſt to the dignity of cardinal. She continued to reſide in that city until 1714, when ſhe retired into France, her native country. Louis XIV. aſſigned the caſtle of Blois for her reſidence, where ſhe died in 1716 *, above 70 years of age. Her remains were tranſported to Warſaw, and from thence conveyed, together with thoſe of her huſband, in 1734, to Cracow, and interred in the cathedral †.

* Vie de Sobieſki, v. III. p. 177.
† Lengnich, Hiſt. p. 390.

held his lands as feudal and tributary to Sigiſmond. A fine medal in honour of John Sobieſki's raiſing the ſiege of Vienna, has this punning inſcription: *Urbem ſervaſtis et orbem.* I likewiſe obſerved a medal of the preſent ſovereign caſt in the late turbulent times; it has a well-executed likeneſs of the king on one ſide, and on the reverſe an emblem of civil commotions, a ſhip in a ſtorm with the claſſical alluſion, *Ne cede malis.*

The public library next engaged our attention. The collection owes its origin to the private bounty of two biſhops of the family of Zaluſki; commemorated by an inſcription over the door; "*Civium uſui perpetuo Zaluſicorum par illuſtre dicavit* 1714." It has ſince received large additions from various benefactors, contains 200,000 volumes, and is rich in books and manuſcripts relating to the Poliſh hiſtory.

Poland contains two univerſities, one at Cracow, the other at Vilna: the former was under the direction of prieſts, called Academicians, and the latter ſuperintended by the Jeſuits; but in both, the courſe of ſtudies was chiefly confined to theology. Since the ſuppreſſion of the Jeſuits, the king has eſtabliſhed a committee of education, compoſed of members diſtinguiſhed either by high ſtation, or enlightened underſtandings, which has an abſolute power in matters of education, appoints profeſſors, regulates their ſalary, and directs their ſtudies.

Although

Although from the nature of the government learning has in no period been widely diffuſed in Poland, yet men of genius and literature, have never been wanting; and perhaps no nation can boaſt a more regular ſucceſſion of excellent hiſtorians, or more writers deeply converſant in the laws and conſtitution. Under Sigiſmond I. and his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus, the arts and ſciences began to be diſtinguiſhed by royal patronage; they were cheriſhed by ſome of the ſucceeding monarchs, particularly John Sobieſki; but no prince has paid them more attention than Staniſlaus Auguſtus; and his munificence has been attended with the happieſt effects. The Poliſh literati have, within a few years, given to the public a much greater variety of elegant performances than appeared in any former period of the ſame length. What is more material, a taſte for ſcience prevails among the nobles, and begins to be regarded as an accompliſhment. The enlargement of mind, derived from this new purſuit, has already weaned ſeveral of theſe licentious ſpirits from their habits of barbarous turbulence, and greatly humanized their civil deportment. It may in time teach them thoroughly to comprehend the true intereſt of their country, and the expedience of due ſubordination, hitherto deemed imcompatible with liberty: theſe petty deſpots will, perhaps, be induced to lay aſide

their impolitic contempt for their vaſſals; they will perceive that the burghers and peaſants are the true ſupports of their country, and that Poland wants only juſtice and order to become as flouriſhing as the neighbouring ſtates.

During my continuance at Warſaw, I inquired into the nature of of the various tribunals, and the different modes of puniſhment for criminal offences: the occaſion of turning my particular obſervation to theſe objects was principally owing to a caſual meeting at Vienna with the benevolent Mr. Howard, whoſe humane attention to the outcaſts of ſociety has reflected ſo much honour on himſelf and his country. Informing him that I was proceeding to the northern kingdoms. I intimated an intention to examine the ſtate of the priſons and penal laws, and profeſſed a readineſs to lay before him the reſult of my obſervations. Mr. Howard approved my deſign, ſuggeſted uſeful hints, and even dictated ſpecific queſtions tending to facilitate my inquiries.

Atrocious crimes are puniſhed by beheading or hanging; leſſer delinquencies by whipping, hard labour, and impriſonment: the nobles never ſuffer any corporal puniſhment; but are liable only to impriſonment and death. Torture was aboliſhed in 1776, by an edict of the diet, introduced by the influence of the king; a regu-

lation which proves his judgment no leſs than his benevolence.

The defects of the police are by no circumſtances ſo ſtrongly evinced, as by the frequent impunity of the moſt atrocious crimes; this abuſe may be traced from ſeveral cauſes. 1. The greateſt criminals find little difficulty in engaging the protection of ſome of the principal nobles, who occaſionally aſſemble their retainers in arms, and drive the officers of juſtice from their lands. This anarchy reſembles the ſtate of Europe in the 14th century, during the prevalence of the feudal laws; when the great barons poſſeſſed territorial juriſdiction, and were almoſt equal in authority to the king. 2. The law, eſteemed by the Poliſh gentry the great bulwark of their liberty, which enacts *, that no gentleman can be arreſted for miſdemeanors until he is convicted, notwithſtanding the ſtrongeſt degree of preſumptive proof: the offender, therefore, if guilty, withdraws himſelf before the completion of the proceſs. Robbery and murder, and a few other capital crimes, are excluded from this privilege; but even for theſe flagrant enormities no gentleman can be taken into cuſtody, unleſs actually apprehended in the commiſſion of the offence. 3. The right which every town poſſeſſes of having its own criminal courts of juſtice, with judges ſelected ſolely from

* Neminem captivabimus niſi jure victum.

the inhabitants. Many of theſe towns being reduced to ſuch a low ſtate, as ſcarcely to deſerve the name of villages; the judges are neceſſarily perſons of mean condition, and totally unqualified for the diſcharge of their high office. Not only the power of levying diſcretionary fines, but the infliction of corporal puniſhment, and even of death itſelf, is entruſted to theſe contemptible tribunals. The chancellor Zamoiſki has, in the new code of laws which he is preparing for the inſpection of the diet, deſcribed the abuſes of theſe petty courts of juſtice in the moſt forcible language, and propoſes, as the only adequate remedy of the evil, to annihilate the right of penal juriſdiction in all but nine of the principal towns. 4. There are no public officers whoſe province it is to proſecute offenders in the king's name. Hence, the moſt atrocious delinquent generally eſcapes, unleſs ſome individual indicts and brings him to trial, which ſeldom happens, as the proceſs is attended with conſiderable expence. Almoſt the only exception to this flagrant defect of common juſtice, is the juriſdiction of the great marſhal, which is in force in the place where the king reſides, and to the diſtance of three Poliſh miles. Within that diſtrict the great marſhal can arreſt and proſecute for crimes of felony without any plaintiff. In caſes alſo of high treaſon, certain officers of the crown, called *inſtigatores*,

tores, are authorized to cite ſuſpicious perſons before the diet. 5. The power which plaintiffs poſſeſs of withdrawing their proſecution, even in caſes of the greateſt enormity: this cuſtom ſcreens all but the indigent from the hands of juſtice; as perſons of moderate property are generally able to bribe the accuſer. This practice, founded on a narrow principle, that outrages againſt individuals are private, not public offences, is an inſtance of the groſſeſt barbariſm, which all civilized nations have renounced: for it requires a ſmall degree of legiſlative knowledge to perceive, that private wrongs, when unchaſtized, become highly injurious to the community at large, by affording encouragement to ſimilar offences.

In viſiting the priſons I ſaw the bad effects of this uſage exemplified in a ſtriking inſtance. Two perſons, indicted for the aſſaſſination of a Jew, had remained in priſon upwards of a twelvemonth, without being brought to a trial. The widow of the deceaſed, upon whoſe accuſation they were arreſted, having agreed, on the payment of a ſtipulated ſum, to drop the ſuit and grant them a releaſe, their inability to ſatisfy her demand was the only reaſon for detaining them in confinement; when I ſaw them they had juſt raiſed the money, and were upon the point of receiving a final diſcharge.

From this ſketch of the adminiſtration of juſtice, the expediency of a thorough reformation is apparent. That able legiſlator count Zamoiſki, in the new code which I have frequently had occaſion to mention, has paid particular attention to the amendment of the criminal laws. But as any innovations in the courts of juſtice, calculated to produce eſſential benefit, muſt materially infringe the privileges of the nobles, and counteract the national prejudices, the moſt uſeful code can ſcarcely expect to receive the ſanction of the diet.

The laws relating to debtors are as follow: The creditor proceeds againſt the debtor at his own expence, and, until the concluſion of the trial, allows him eight groſchens, or three half-pence, a day for his maintenance. When the debt is proved, the creditor is releaſed from the contribution: the debtor continues a priſoner, at the diſcretion of his creditor, until the debt is diſcharged, and, if he has no means of ſubſiſtence, is obliged to maintain himſelf by cutting wood, ſawing ſtone, or cleaning the ſtreets. If a noble contracts a debt, an action lies againſt his lands and goods, and not againſt his perſon, unleſs he gives a note of hand with a double ſignature, one intended as an aſcertainment of the debt, the other as a renunciation of his exemption from arreſts. But a noble of high diſtinction, even though he ſhould bind himſelf by this engagement, can bid defiance to all danger of impriſonment.

CHAP. 6.

Departure from Warſaw.—Bialliſtock.—Entertainment at the counteſs of Braniſki's palace.—Duchy of Lithuania.—Its union with Poland.—Deſcription of Grodno.—Diets.—Phyſic garden.—General productions of Lithuania.—Account of the wild-ox.—Of the Remiz and its pendent neſt.—Manufactures.—Entertainments.—Hoſpitality of the Poles.—Election-dinner, and ball.

BEFORE we quitted Warſaw, we received another inſtance of the king's extreme condeſcenſion, a letter written with his own hand to the Poſt maſter at Grodno, ordering that we ſhould be ſupplied with every accommodation which could be procured, and be permitted to viſit the manufactories and every object of curioſity.

We quitted the capital on the 10th of Auguſt, croſſed the Viſtula, and paſſed through the ſuburbs of Praga. About an Engliſh mile from Warſaw a foreſt begins, and continues, with little interruption, to the diſtance of eighteen miles. At Wengrow we obſerved a fine corps of Ruſſian troops quartered in the village. Some of the places in our route, though extremely wretched, enjoyed their own police and courts of juſtice: they conſiſted of wooden huts, moſtly thatched,

ſome roofed with wood, and a few with tiles. The country was chiefly ſandy and level until we arrived at the Bog, which we croſſed at Gran; the river was broad and ſhallow. We aſcended from its banks a ſmall riſe, and found a better ſoil, and the country more diverſified. The road was not unpleaſant, running through fields ſown with different ſpecies of corn, hemp, and flax; but we never loſt ſight of the foreſt, and always ſaw it ſkirting the horizon. In many places I obſerved the wood encroaching upon the fields, and young trees ſhooting up in great numbers wherever cultivation had been neglected. I was informed that this is the caſe in moſt parts of Poland; many traces of former incloſures, and even the veſtiges of paved ſtreets, being diſcernible in the centre of the foreſts.

The largeſt place we paſſed through was Bielſk, capital of the palatinate of Podalachia, where the dietine for the diſtrict is held: it is little better than a miſerable village, though called, in the geographical deſcriptions of Poland, a large town. Between Bielſk and Woytſzi, our wheel nearly caught fire, and while we ſtopped at a ſmall village to have it greaſed, I entered ſeveral cottages, which I found worſe even than thoſe wretched dwellings I had before examined in the towns where the inhabitants were more free; in the latter we obſerved furniture and ſome conveniences,

in

in theſe nothing but the bare walls. The country we traverſed from Warſaw to Bialliſtock was in general ſandy; but all parts were fit for cultivation, and many ſpots had the appearance of great fertility. We remarked, however, that the harveſt, even in the moſt fruitful tracts, was but indifferent; a circumſtance evidently owing to the defect in huſbandry.

We arrived late in the evening at Bialliſtock, a neat and well-built town. The ſtreets are broad, and the houſes, which are in general plaiſtered, ſtand detached at uniform diſtances. The ſuperior neatneſs of Bialliſtock is owing to the illuſtrious family of Braniſki, whoſe palace is cloſe to the town, and who have contributed to ornament their place of reſidence. It belongs to the counteſs Braniſki, ſiſter of the preſent king, and widow of the late great general Braniſki, who, notwithſtanding this alliance, warmly proteſted againſt the election of his brother-in-law.

The morning after our arrival, the counteſs, to whom we had a letter from prince Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, honoured us with an invitation to dinner, and ſent her carriage to convey us to the palace. We were moſt politely received by our noble hoſteſs, and were convinced from her amiable manners, condeſcending behaviour, and lively flow of converſation, that affability and good ſenſe are natural to the family of Poniatowſki.

We

We found a large company aſſembled, whom the counteſs had invited to partake of her hoſpitable board, which was elegantly ſupplied with every delicacy. Among other topics, the converſation turned upon our mode of travelling through a country ſo poor and wretched, and ſo deficient in comfortable accommodations. "I ſuppoſe," ſaid a Poliſh gentleman, "you carry your beds with you;" to which we replied in the negative. "How do you ſleep then?"—"Upon ſtraw, when we can get it; and, when we are not ſo fortunate, upon the floor, upon a bench, or upon a table."—"You take your proviſions," returned the Pole.—"Very ſeldom."—"How do you live then?"—"Upon what we can procure: one of our ſervants is ſent before, and generally contrives to obtain ſome kind of proviſion, which may ſooth, if not ſatisfy, the demands of hunger; but we have travelling appetites, and are not faſtidious."—"You are not, however, without knives, forks, and ſpoons; for ſuch conveniences are not known among the peaſants."—"We each carry a claſp-knife, are now and then ſo fortunate as to meet with a wooden ſpoon, and never regret the want of a fork." Here our noble hoſteſs made a propoſal to ſupply us with knives, forks, and ſpoons, together with wine and proviſion: on our declining this offer, ſhe pleaſantly replied, "Perhaps you

are

are above accepting them; I know the Engliſh are very haughty; will you purchaſe them?" We made anſwer, we were not afraid of laying ourſelves under any obligations to a perſon of her politeneſs and generoſity; but the object of our travels being to gratify curioſity rather than appetite, we thought ourſelves moſt likely to become acquainted with the domeſtic œconomy of the peaſants, by partaking of their accommodations, and by relying on them for the ſupply of our wants. Willing, however, not to appear rude in a rejection of the whole offer, we accepted a few bottles of wine.

The counteſs conducted us herſelf through the apartments of the palace, which is a large building in the Italian taſte, and, on account of its magnificence, generally called the Verſailles of Poland. It was formerly only a royal hunting ſeat; John Caſimir gave it, together with Bialiſtock and other eſtates, to Czarnieſki, a general highly diſtinguiſhed by his victories over the Swedes, when Poland was nearly cruſhed by her enemies. Among the curioſities preſerved in the palace is a golden cup, which Czarnieſki was accuſtomed to wear at his girdle, and an embroidered ſaſh taken among the ſpoils after a defeat of Charles X. which is ſuppoſed to have belonged to that monarch. Czarnieſki left one daughter, who married Braniſki the father of the late

late great general, and conveyed the eſtate into that family. One apartment, occupied by Auguſtus III. whenever he paſſed to the diet of Grodno, is, out of reſpect to his memory, left in its original ſtate. In another room is a fine portrait of Auguſtus in his royal robes, with his head ſhaved in the Poliſh faſhion, as he appeared on the day of his coronation. In the afternoon we drove about the park and grounds, which are very extenſive, and elegantly laid out in the Engliſh taſte. We cloſed this agreeable day with a ſupper at the palace, and took leave, with regret, of its amiable and noble miſtreſs.

Auguſt 13. We ſat off early from Bialliſtock, and after traverſing a continued foreſt, came into a country more open, and abounding with corn and paſture; the towns and villages were long and ſtraggling; all the houſes, and even the churches, of wood; crowds of beggars ſurrounded our carriage, and Jews made their appearance in great numbers. At four in the afternoon we paſſed through ſome wretched ſuburbs inhabited by Jews, and ferrying over the Niemen, which is broad, clear, and ſhallow, aſcended the riſing banks, and entered Grodno, built upon an eminence overlooking the river. Though Vilna is the capital, yet Grodno is eſteemed the principal town in Lithuania.

Formerly Lithuania was governed by its own ſovereigns

ſovereigns under the title of great-dukes. From that rivalry which uſually ſubſiſts between contiguous ſtates, the two nations were engaged in a ſeries of perpetual wars, until 1386; when the great-duke Ladiſlaus Jaghellon, having eſpouſed Hedwige and embraced the Chriſtian religion, was raiſed to the Poliſh throne, and reigned over both countries.

Ladiſlaus ſoon became a ſincere convert to the new religion, which he at firſt adopted from intereſted views, and endeavoured to propagate its doctrines among his idolatrous ſubjects in Lithuania. In ſubſerviency to this great work, he cut down the hallowed groves, deſtroyed the oracular ſhrine, extinguiſhed the ſacred fire, and ſlew the ſerpents worſhipped as gods by his ſuperſtitious ſubjects. A belief univerſally prevailed among the people, that whoever profanely attempted to deſtroy theſe objects of their worſhip, would be ſtruck with inſtantaneous death; the falſity of this tradition being proved by the impunity of thoſe concerned in the ſuppoſed ſacrilege, the Lithuanians flocked in ſuch crowds to be converted, that the prieſts could only beſtow ſeparate baptiſm on perſons of diſtinction; but diſtributed the multitude in ranks, and, ſprinkling them with water, gave one Chriſtian name to each rank without diſtinction of ſex*. La-

* Cromer, p. 368.

diſlaus,

diſlaus, having thus introduced the Chriſtian religion into Lithuania, nominated his brother Caſimir Skirgello governor of the duchy, and returned to Poland; but a civil war being excited by the ambition of Alexander, ſurnamed Vitoldus, and by the diſcontents of the people, ſtill attached to their Pagan rites, Lithuania was for ſome time a ſcene of tumult and hoſtility. At length, by a compromiſe in 1392, Vitoldus was appointed great-duke, and Ladiſlaus contented himſelf with a nominal ſovereignty.

In 1401 the nobles of Lithuania aſſembled at Vilna, and entered into an offenſive and defenſive alliance with the king and republic of Poland. In 1413 it was ſtipulated, in a diet of Poles and Lithuanians held in the town of Hrodlo, that, upon the demiſe of Vitoldus, the Lithuanians ſhould acknowledge no other great-duke but the perſon who ſhould be appointed by the king, and with the agreement of the two nations; that if Ladiſlaus died without iſſue, the Poles ſhould elect no king without the conſent of Vitoldus and the Lithuanians, and that a diet, compoſed of repreſentatives from both nations, ſhould meet at Lublin or Parzow *. From the demiſe of Vitoldus, who expired in 1439, in the 80th year of his age, the great-dukes were ſometimes, in conformity to this

* Dlugoſſius & Cromer.

compact,

compact, nominated by the kings of Poland; at other times, in violation of it, by the Lithuanians. At length Sigiſmond I. fortunately united in his perſon the two ſovereignties, and was ſucceeded in both by his ſon Sigiſmond Auguſtus.

Hitherto the connection between the two nations was more an alliance than an union; but Sigiſmond Auguſtus having no children, and being the only ſurviving male heir of the Jaghellon family, planned the union of Poland and Lithuania, leſt upon his deceaſe the two nations ſhould be again governed by different princes. After ſome difficulties he obtained, from a general diet held at Lublin in 1569, that Poland and Lithuania ſhould be conſidered as one nation, that one ſovereign ſhould be choſen by both; that the Lithuanians ſhould ſend nuntios to the general diet, be admitted into the ſenate, and have an equal ſhare in the public honours and employments; that no alliance ſhould be made with foreign powers, and no embaſſadors diſpatched without the conſent of both parties; that the ſame money ſhould paſs current in both countries; and that they ſhould have no diſtinction of privilege or intereſt. Upon the ratification of this union, Sigiſmond Auguſtus renounced all hereditary right to Lithuania. From this period the ſame perſon has been uniformly

formly elected king of Poland and great-duke of Lithuania, and the two nations have been incorporated into one republic*.

Grodno is a large and ſtraggling place, but contains no more than 3,000 Chriſtians, excluſive of the perſons employed in the manufactures, and 1,000 Jews. It has the appearance of a town in decay; containing a mixture of wretched hovels, falling houſes, and ruined palaces, with magnificent gateways, remains of ancient ſplendour. A few habitations in good repair render the contraſt more ſtriking.

The old palace, in which the kings uſed to reſide during the diets, ſtood upon a hill of ſand riſing abruptly from the river, and forming part of the bank: ſome remains of the ancient walls ſtill exiſt. Oppoſite to this hill is the new palace†, built, but never inhabited, by Auguſtus III. in which are the apartments wherein the diets are held, or rather will be held if they are ever again ſummoned to Grodno. According to the treaty of Hrodlo; Lublin, or Parzow, or any other more commodious town, was appointed for the meeting of the Poliſh and Lithuanian deputies; but in the articles of union it was ſtipulated, that Warſaw ſhould be the place where the re-

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 30 to 33.

† This palace became the temporary reſidence of Staniſlaus Auguſtus, after his abdication.

preſentatives

preſentatives of the two nations were to aſſemble*. In 1673, it was enacted, that every third diet ſhould be held at Grodno, and in conformity to this law, the firſt national aſſembly was convened here in 1678, under John Sobieſki. But when the next turn of Grodno arrived, that monarch ſummoned the diet to Warſaw: the Lithuanians ſtrongly oppoſed this infringement of their rights, and their deputies, inſtead of proceeding to Warſaw, where the king, ſenate, and nuntios of Poland were met, repaired to this town, and formed a ſeparate diet. In order to prevent a civil war, which this diviſion might occaſion, a negotiation took place, and it was at length ſettled, that the diet of 1678 ſhould aſſemble at Warſaw, but be called the diet of Grodno, and that the marſhal ſhould be choſen from the Lithuanian nuntios†. From that time the diets have been occaſionally ſummoned to Grodno‡, until the reign of the preſent king, when they have been held at Warſaw; this innovation has been tacitly agreed to by the Lithuanians, as well on account of the diſtance of this town from the royal reſidence, as in conſideration of the troubles which convulſed the country§.

* Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. II. p. 315, &c.

† Vie de Sobieſki, p. 19.

‡ Grodno is now a frontier town, in the Ruſſian diviſion of Poland.

§ In October 1784, a diet was held at Grodno.

We carried a letter of recommendation to Mr. Gillibert, a French naturaliſt of great abilities, who has the ſuperintendence of the college and phyſic garden. The king of Poland has eſtabliſhed a Royal Academy of Phyſic for Lithuania, in which ten ſtudents are inſtructed in phyſic, and twenty in ſurgery. They are all lodged, boarded, and taught at the royal expence. The phyſic garden, which did not exiſt in 1776, made, when I paſſed through the town in 1778, a very reſpectable appearance, which was owing to Mr. Gillibert's attention and care. It contained 1,500 exotics, particularly ſeveral delicate American plants ſown in the open air, which thrived remarkably well in this climate. Mr. Gillibert told me, that he had diſcovered 200 ſpecies of plants in Lithuania, which were only thought indigenous in Siberia, Tartary, and Sweden, and that in the whole duchy he had obſerved 980 ſpecies, excluſive of thoſe common to moſt countries in Europe. He has lately formed a ſmall collection, chiefly conſiſting of the productions of Lithuania, and is employed in arranging materials for a natural hiſtory of the duchy: he propoſes to begin his publications on that ſubject with a *Flora Lithuanica*, which will be ſucceſſively followed by an account of the mineralogy, inſects, quadrupeds, and birds. Conſidering the infant ſtate of natural knowledge in this country, the deſign will require great

great length of time and perſeverance before it is completed.

The animals roving in the boundleſs foreſts of Lithuania, are principally the bear, wolf, elk, wild-ox, lynx, beaver, glutton, and wild-cat.

At Grodno I had an opportunity of ſeeing a female of the wild-ox, probably the ſame quadruped deſcribed by Ariſtotle, under the name of *Bonaſus*, ſtyled *Urus* in the Commentaries of Cæſar, and called *Biſon* by ſome naturaliſts. It was not full grown, about the ſize of a common Engliſh cow, ſhaped like a buffalo, but without the protuberance on the ſhoulders; the neck was high and thick, and covered with a mane, which fringed down the throat and breaſt, and hung almoſt to the ground, ſomewhat reſembling that of an old lion; the forehead was narrow, with two horns bending inwards*, and the tongue of a bluiſh colour. The male is ſometimes ſix feet in height, and more fierce and ſhaggy than the female.

Linnæus has claſſed the *Bonaſus*, the *Urus*,

* Ariſtotle deſcribes the horns of the *Bonaſus* as γαμφα και κεκαμμενα προς αλληλα, "*crooked and bending towards each other.*" A circumſtance which ſeems to have puzzled commentators upon Ariſtotle, who did not conſider that the figure of the horns varies exceedingly in the ſame ſpecies, in a wild or tame ſtate, and cannot be admitted as forming a ſpecific difference. See Ariſt. Hiſt. Anim. L. IX. c. 45. alſo Camus Hiſt. des Animaux, cited in Maty's Review for April 1783, p. 313, &c.

and the *Biſon* (probably the ſame animal with different names) under three ſpecies; Buffon reduces them to two, the *Urus* and the *Biſon*; but Pennant has compriſed them all under one ſpecies*. His opinion has been lately adopted by Pallas, in a curious diſſertation publiſhed in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences of St. Peterſburgh. He informs us, that this ſpecies of the wild-ox, which was formerly very common in Europe, exiſts no where on that continent, except in theſe Lithuanian foreſts, in ſome parts of the Carpathian mountains, and perhaps of the Caucaſus. He agrees alſo with Buffon, in ſuppoſing the *biſon* or wild-ox of America only a variety of the *urus* changed by the climate†.

Lithuania is very rich in ornithology: among the birds of prey the eagle and vulture are common. The *Remiz*‡ or little ſpecies of titmouſe, called *Parus Pendulinus*, is not unfrequently found in theſe parts. The head is of a pale bluiſh aſh-colour, the forepart of the neck and the breaſt tinged with red, the belly white, wings black, back and rump of a yellowiſh ruſt-colour, quill-feathers cinereous, with the exterior ſides

* Syſtema Naturæ. Buffon's Hiſt. Nat. Pennant's Hiſt. of Quad. p. 15.

† Sur le Buffle à Queue de cheval in Nov. Act. Pet. 1771. Part II. p. 232, &c. Alſo in his Neue Nord. Beytrage, p. 2.

‡ I am indebted to that able naturaliſt, Mr. Pennant, for this deſcription of the Remiz, and for the annexed plate.

white,

MALE and FEMALE REMIZ; or PENDULINE TITMOUSE

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white, the tail ruſt-coloured. The male is ſingularly diſtinguiſhed from the female by a pair of black-pointed whiſkers.

The neſt is in the ſhape of a long purſe, which it forms with amazing art, by interweaving down, goſſamer, and minute fibres, in a compact manner, and lining the inſide with down, ſo as to make a warm lodge for its young brood. The entrance is at the ſide, ſmall and round, with the edge more ſtrongly marked than the reſt of this curious fabric: the bird, attentive to the preſervation of its eggs and neſtlings, ſuſpends it at the leſſer end to the extremity of the ſlender twigs of a willow, or ſome other tree, over a river. Contrary to the cuſtom of titmice, it lays only four or five eggs; poſſibly Providence hath ordained this ſcantineſs of eggs to the *Remiz*; becauſe by the ſingular inſtinct imparted to this bird, it is enabled to ſecure its young much more effectually from deſtruction, than the other ſpecies, which are very prolific.

Mr. Gillibert acquainted me that a great quantity of yellow amber is frequently dug up in the Lithuanian foreſts, and that it is probably the production of a ſmall reſinous pine*. He informed

* Naturaliſts have long differed concerning the origin of amber. Some maintain it to be an animal ſubſtance, others claſs it among the minerals; ſome aſſert, that it is a vegetable oil united with a mineral acid; but the moſt common opinion ſeems to be that it is a

informed me that the duchy abounds in iron ochre, called by Linnæus *Tophus humoſo ochreaceus*, and deſcribed by Wallerius* under the article of *Ferrum limoſum*, which produces forty pounds of metal in a hundred weight; that it yields alſo ſeveral ſpecies of copper and iron pyrites; black agate, which always bears a reſemblance to the roots of pines†; detached maſſes

foſſil bitumen. A few, with Mr. Gillibert, hold it to be the reſinous juice of a pine hardened by age: an opinion alſo maintained by the ancient Romans. Amber is moſt uſually found upon the ſea coaſt, and though frequently diſcovered ſeveral feet beneath the ſurface of the ground, yet has been ſuppoſed to have never been dug up at any conſiderable diſtance from the ſea; a circumſtance which has led ſeveral naturaliſts to conjecture, that it owes, in a great meaſure, its production to that element. But this hypotheſis is confuted by the diſcovery of theſe large pieces of amber in the heart of the Lithuanian foreſts far from any ſea. See Plin. Hiſt. Nat. L. 37. Sect. XI. Tacitus de Mor. Germ. Macquer's Chymiſtry, v. II. p. 206. Biſhop of Landaff's (Dr. Watſon) Eſſays on Chym. v. III. p. 12. and particularly Wallerius Syſt. Min. v. II. p. 115—117. where the reader will find a liſt of the principal naturaliſts, who have written upon Amber.

* Wallerius Syſt. Min. v. II. p. 255.

† Mr. Gillibert thus deſcribes theſe agates in the Acts of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. "M. Gillibert dans une lettre à M. le Profeſſeur Pallas, parle d'une petrification très remarquable, commune dans ce pays [Lithuania], laquelle eſt agathe par ſa nature, mais reſemble parfaitement par ſa forme, à des racines de ſapins pétrifiées. Les racines agatiſées ſont bandées de noir autour de leur axe, et incruſtées d'une écorſe griſe ou blanchâtre. On en trouve à demi petrifiées; et toutes donnent une odeur empyreumatique au feu, qui provient d'un reſte de principe bitumeneux. D'Ailleurs toutes les petrifications d'origine marine ſe trouvent agatiſées dans ce pays couvert d'un ſable fin, dont les eaux peuvent extraire un principe pétrifiant de cette nature." Nov. Act. Acad. Pet. for 1777, p. 45.

of

of red and gray granite; pudding ſtones, containing chryſtals of white quartz; the *echinus* agatized; a large quantity of falſe precious ſtones, ſuch as amethyſts, topazes, garnets, alſo chalcedonies, cornelians, milky agates, the *oculus catti*, or cat's eye, jaſpers, and particularly the red ſpecies. Lithuania, he added, is extremely rich in marine petrifactions, chiefly in thoſe which are common in the Baltic; of theſe the madrepores are the moſt numerous, and amongſt others the *Corallinum Gothlandicum* is not uncommon, which is deſcribed in the firſt volume of the *Amœnitates Academicæ** as extremely rare.

The next morning we viſited the manufactories eſtabliſhed by the king in 1776. They were carrying on in wooden ſheds, built by Auguſtus III. for ſtables, which were converted into temporary working looms, and dwelling houſes for the accommodation of the manufacturers. It was expected that the whole eſtabliſhment would be ſoon removed to Loſſona, a village near Grodno, where convenient buildings, conſtructing at the king's expence, were nearly finiſhed. The principal manufactures are cloth and camlets, linen and cottons, ſilk ſtuffs, embroidery, ſilk ſtockings, hats, lace, fire arms, needles, cards,

* P. 211.

bleaching wax, and carriages. The country furniſhes ſufficient wool, flax, hemp, beavers hair, and wax, for the ſupply of the manufactories which employ thoſe commodities; but the ſilk, cotton, iron, colours, gold and ſilver for the embroidery, and fine thread from Bruſſels for the lace, are imported.

Theſe manufactories employ 3,000 perſons, including thoſe diſperſed in the contiguous villages, who ſpin linen and worſted. Seventy foreigners direct the different branches; the reſt are natives belonging to the king's demeſnes. The apprentices are the children of Poliſh peaſants, who are clothed and fed, and have beſides a ſmall allowance in money. The directors complain that there is no emulation among them, and that, although better fed and clothed than the other peaſants, yet they cannot excite them to induſtry by any other means than force. Nor is this a matter of wonder; for they ſtill continue in a ſtate of ſervitude, and are apprehenſive, leſt they ſhould be deprived of their profits; it has frequently happened, that any little pittance gained by their labour, has been wreſted from them, in order to pay the quit-rents which their parents owed to their lords. One of theſe apprentices, more ſhrewd than the reſt, ſaid to the director, who was trying to ſtimulate her induſtry, "What advantage ſhall I obtain if I follow your advice?

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let me become ever ſo ſkilful in my trade, I ſhall always continue ſubject to my maſter; the labour will be mine, and the profits his." Moſt of them appeared with a ſettled melancholy in their countenances, and they evidently worked from compulſion, not from inclination. As ſome remedy to this evil, it has been propoſed, after a certain term of years, to give liberty to thoſe who particularly excel, and diſtinguiſh themſelves by extraordinary exertions. But this humane propoſal has been rejected, from a notion that ſuch perſons, once free, would no longer continue to work; and that by theſe means the manufactories would be deprived of the beſt hands. Though this inconvenience might occaſionally take place; yet the encouragement of ſuch a regulation, by exciting alacrity and induſtry, would create a greater number of artiſts than it would emancipate.

Theſe manufactories are ſtill in their infancy; but the inſtitution reflects a conſiderable luſtre upon the royal founder; more particularly as his attention was not withdrawn from them during the civil convulſions which lately ſhook his throne.

On the firſt evening of our arrival at Grodno, a Poliſh nobleman, to whom we were introduced by Mr. Gillibert, invited us to ſupper with great frankneſs and cordiality. After an hour's converſation,

verſation, he conſigned us to the care of his wife and retired; nor did he again make his appearance the whole evening. This ſeeming inattention, ſo contrary to the politeneſs of the invitation, occaſioned at firſt ſome ſurprize; but we afterwards found, that good manners equally directed his behaviour in both inſtances. Having before our arrival invited ſome Poliſh gentlemen to ſup with him, who could not converſe in French, and who drank freely, he juſtly thought that we ſhould paſs a more agreeable evening with the ladies. We had a ſmall party at ſupper, which was chearful and agreeable; for the Poles are a lively people, and the women in general amiable and well bred.

We dined the following day with count Tyſenhauſen vice-chancellor of Lithuania; it was an election-dinner previous to the dietine, which was to aſſemble at Grodno, to chuſe repreſentatives for the approaching diet. There were eighty nobles at table, all, a few excepted, in their national dreſs, and with their heads ſhaved in the Poliſh faſhion. Before dinner they ſaluted the count with great reſpect, ſome kiſſing the hem of his garment, others ſtooping down and embracing his legs.

In the evening the count gave a ball, concluded by an elegant ſupper. The company amuſed themſelves with Poliſh and Engliſh country dances.

dances. The Poliſh dances are ſimple, but not deficient in grace, accompanied by a moſt pleaſing air: the company ſtand in pairs; the firſt man leads his partner round the room in a kind of ſtep not much unlike that of a minuet, he then quits her hand, makes a ſmall circle, joins hands again, and repeats the ſame movements until the concluſion. The ſecond couple began as ſoon as the firſt had advanced a few ſteps, and was quickly followed by the remainder, ſo that all the parties glided after one another at the ſame time. The Poles are very fond of this dance: although it has little variety, they continued it for half an hour without intermiſſion, and frequently renewed it during the courſe of the evening. The intervals were filled with Engliſh country dances, which they performed with equal expertneſs, and and with no leſs delight. An elegant ſupper, to which only a ſelect party was invited, agreeably concluded the entertainment of the day.

The count politely preſſed us to continue ſome time at Grodno, and take up our abode in his houſe; but being anxious to arrive at Peterſburgh before the commencement of the winter, we declined the invitation, which we ſhould otherwiſe have accepted with pleaſure. Some of the company, however, kindly endeavoured to detain us by privately deſiring the coach-maker employed in mending our carriage to execute the commiſſion

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in a dilatory manner, and although we accidentally diſcovered this project, we did not obtain the neceſſary repairs without the moſt urgent remonſtrances. To ſpare our acquaintance the trouble of making, and ourſelves the pain of rejecting, any further ſolicitations, we deemed it expedient to depart in the night without appriſing any one of our deſign.

It was our intention to proceed to Vilna; but as this was the time of electing nuntios, the poſtmaſter informed us, that for want of horſes we ſhould be delayed at ſome wretched village; we therefore unwillingly altered our route, and to our great diſappointment, as we much wiſhed to viſit the capital of Lithuania.

CHAP. 7.

Continuation of the tour through the duchy of Lithuania.—Number of Jews.—Badneſs of the roads and want of accommodations.—Cloſe of the dietine at Minſk.—Poverty and wretchedneſs of the natives.—Comparative view of the Swiſs and Poliſh peaſants.—Remarks on the Plica Polonica.

IN our route through Lithuania we were ſtruck with the ſwarms of Jews, who, though very numerous in every other part of Poland, ſeem to have fixed their head-quarters in this duchy. If you aſk for an interpreter, they bring you a Jew; if you come to an inn, the landlord is a Jew; if you want poſt-horſes, a Jew procures them, and a Jew drives them; if you wiſh to purchaſe, a Jew is your agent: this perhaps is the only country in Europe where Jews cultivate the ground; and we frequently ſaw them engaged in ſowing, reaping, mowing, and other works of huſbandry.

The roads in Lithuania are entirely neglected, being little better than by-paths winding through the thick foreſt without the leaſt degree of artificial direction: they are frequently ſo narrow as ſcarcely to admit a carriage; continually obſtructed by ſtumps and roots of trees, and in many parts ſo exceedingly ſandy, that eight ſmall horſes could ſcarcely drag us along. The poſtilions were

were frequently boys of ten or twelve years of age, hardy lads, who rode poſts of twenty and even thirty Engliſh miles without a ſaddle, and with ſcarcely any covering except a ſhirt and a pair of linen drawers. The bridges acroſs the rivulets were ſo weakly conſtructed, and ſo old, that they ſeemed ready to crack with the weight of the carriage, and we thought ourſelves fortunate in paſſing them without an accident.

Some travellers have remarked, that the foreſts, through which our route lay, are ſet on fire by lightning or other natural cauſes, and blaze for a conſiderable time. We at firſt conceived this repreſentation to be well-founded, as we diſcovered in many parts evident traces of extenſive conflagrations. On inquiry, however, we were informed, that the peaſants, being obliged annually to furniſh their landlords with a certain quantity of turpentine, burn the trunks of the pines while ſtanding, and catch it as it oozes from the ſtems. We obſerved few trees without marks of fire upon them: ſome were quite black, and nearly charred to cinder; ſome half-burnt; others conſiderably ſcorched, but continuing to vegetate.

Auguſt 15. After twenty hours inceſſant travelling we arrived late in the evening at Bielitza, which is diſtant ninety miles from Grodno, and ſet out before day-break, anxious to reach Minſk

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on the morning of the 17th, when a dietine for the election of nuntios was to be aſſembled. We ſtopped a ſhort time at Novogrodec, which is all built of wood, except two or three ruinous brick-houſes, a convent that belonged to the Jeſuits, and ſome mouldering ſtone-walls ſurrounding a ſmall eminence, crowned with the remains of an old citadel. Near Novogrodec we paſſed a large number of barrows, which the peaſants call Swediſh burying-places. In this part the country was leſs ſandy, of a richer ſoil, and ſomewhat diverſified with hill and dale: the ſolitary extent of the foreſts was more than uſually interſperſed with villages, and dotted with fields of paſture, in which we obſerved numerous herds of cattle.

On our arrival at the ſmall village of Mir, we found that our original intention of reaching Minſk by the next morning was ſcarcely practicable, even if we continued our journey during the night. The diſtance was between ſixty and ſeventy miles, the night extremely dark, the roads bad; and we were informed, that we ſhould be obliged to croſs ſeveral bridges not paſſable even in the day without the utmoſt circumſpection. Our deſire therefore of being preſent at the election of nuntios gave way to theſe ſuggeſtions, and we ſacrificed the gratification of our curioſity to the conſiderations of perſonal ſafety. The pleaſures of Mir certainly offered no induce-

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ment for delay: the poverty of the inhabitants denied a ſcanty ſupply of the moſt ordinary refreſhments; the higheſt entertainment which the place afforded being a ſuſpenſion of the dangers of travelling, and the ſum of our comforts an intermiſſion of fatigue.

The badneſs of our accommodations at Mir led us to conſider Minſk (where we arrived on the evening of the 17th) as the ſeat of taſte and luxury. We there experienced comforts to which we had lately been ſtrangers; a neat white-waſhed room with a brick floor, no fleas or flies, plenty of clean ſtraw, good bread, and freſh meat. After a refreſhing night's reſt, we ſallied forth the next morning to the refectory of the Jeſuits monaſtery, where the nuntios had been choſen on the preceding day. We had ſome difficulty in gaining admittance; until a perſon, who appeared to be a man of conſequence, inquired, in the German language, our country and buſineſs. Anſwering that we were three Engliſh gentlemen, deſirous of ſeeing every thing worthy of obſervation, he expreſſed much ſurprize at the plainneſs of our dreſs, particularly at our want of ſwords. "In Poland," he ſaid, "every gentleman wears his ſabre as a badge of his rank, never appearing in public without it; and I adviſe you to obſerve this cuſtom as long as you continue in this country, if you wiſh to be conſidered as gentlemen."

men." Thanking him for his advice, we accompanied him into the refectory, where we found the majority of the dietine ſtill aſſembled, though not upon national buſineſs; in plain Engliſh, they were engaged in drinking, a no leſs eſſential appendage of a Poliſh than a Britiſh election. One perſon, whom they ſeemed to treat with deference, was conſtantly employed in delivering drams to the electors, who were ſtanding in different parts of the room: many ceremonies paſſed at every circulation of the glaſs; they touched their breaſts, ſtooped towards the ground, and drank the nuntios' and each other's health with great ſolemnity. Several of the Poliſh gentlemen converſed with me in Latin: they informed me, that every palatinate is divided into a certain number of diſtricts, and that each diſtrict chuſes two nuntios. I aſked whether the election of the diſtrict of Minſk had been conteſted; they told me, that three candidates had offered. I then inquired whether the elected nuntios were of the king's party, and they anſwered, "We have in this inſtance complied with his majeſty's recommendation." "You have acted," I replied, "with great propriety: is he not a good prince?" "A good prince!" returned the Poles, "yes, the moſt excellent that ever filled a throne."

Minſk is a large place: two churches, and the monaſtery which belonged to the Jeſuits, are con-

ſtructed of brick, and the remaining buildings, though of wood, have a neater look than the generality of dwellings in this country. Returning to our inn, we received an invitation to dinner from a Poliſh count: but as the weather appeared favourable, as our carriage was at the door, and all things prepared for our immediate departure, we determined to relinquiſh an opportunity of ſocial enjoyment for the expediency of purſuing our journey. . .

Auguſt 18. We were conſiderably fatigued with our journey from Minſk to Smolewitzo, which, though ſcarcely thirty miles, yet on account of the badneſs of the roads and unexpected delays, employed us near twelve hours. The weather was cold and rainy, the wind high, the roads worſe than uſual, and the evening proved extremely dark. We were almoſt beginning to deſpair of reaching our deſtined ſtation; when a noiſe of folding doors thrown open, and the rattling of our carriage upon a wodden floor, announced our arrival. The leathern blinds of the carriage being cloſely faſtened down, to exclude the wind and rain, we were for a few moments held in ſuſpenſe into what kind of place we were admitted. Alighting, we found ourſelves in the middle of a large barn or ſhed, at the further end of which we deſcried two large pines, with all their branches, in full blaze upon a hearth

without

without a chimney: round it ſeveral figures, in full black robes, and with long beards, were employed in ſtirring a great cauldron ſuſpended over the flame. A belief in witchcraft, or a little ſuperſtition, might eaſily have repreſented this party as a group of magicians engaged in celebrating ſome myſtic rites; but, on nearer inſpection, we recogniſed our old friends the Jews, preparing their and our evening repaſt.

We ſet out the next morning before day-break, as was our uſual cuſtom, having no inducement to remain any longer than was abſolutely neceſſary in theſe hovels, abounding in vermin, and in which filth and wretchedneſs are united. Near Boriſow we croſſed the Berezyna, which has been erroneouſly laid down by ſome modern geographers, as forming the new boundary between Ruſſia and Poland, and on the other ſide of the town paſſed a camp of 2,000 Ruſſian troops, who were marching to Warſaw.

At Boriſow the Jews procured us ten horſes, and placed them all in two rows, ſix next the carriage, and four in front*. It required much ingenuity to contrive this arrangement. The two middle horſes in the hinder row were harneſſed as uſual to the ſplinter-bars; the two next were

* The uſual method of harneſſing was by placing four a-breaſt, and two in the foremoſt row.

faſtened to the extremities of the axle-tree, which projected conſiderably on each ſide beyond the boxes of the fore-wheels; and the two outermoſt in the ſame manner, by means of long ropes, to the hinder axle-tree: the four horſes in front were harneſſed to the pole and to the ſplinter-bars of the pole. Well aſſured that horſes, ranged in this primitive manner, would require more ſpace than the narrow roads of Poland generally afford, we endeavoured to perſuade the drivers to place them in pairs; but ſuch was their obſtinacy or want of comprehenſion, that we could not prevail. We therefore unlooſed two horſes from the hindermoſt row, and for that permiſſion were obliged to compound for leaving the remaining eight in their original poſition. In this manner we proceeded; but ſtill found great difficulty in forcing our way through the wilderneſs, which was ſo overgrown with thick underwood, as in many parts ſcarcely to admit the breadth of an ordinary carriage. In ſome places we were obliged to take off two, in others four of the horſes, and not unfrequently alighted, to aſſiſt in removing fallen trees, in directing the horſes through the winding paths, and finding a new track along the almoſt impenetrable foreſt.

In various parts of the foreſt, we obſerved circular ranges of boards fixed to ſeveral trees twelve feet from the ground, and projecting three from

from the trunk. On great hunting parties, ladders are placed againſt theſe ſcaffoldings, and the hunters, if cloſely preſſed by a bear, aſcend the ladder, and draw it up after them: the bear, although an excellent climber, is ſtopped in his aſcent by the projection of the boards.

We were happy at length to reach Naitza, although we took up our ſtation in one of the moſt wretched of all the wretched cottages we had yet entered. The only article of furniture was a ſmall table, and the only utenſil a broken earthen pot, in which our repaſt was prepared, and which ſerved us alſo for diſhes and plates. We ate our meagre fare by the light of a thin lath of deal, five feet in length, which was ſtuck into a crevice of the wainſcot, and hung over the table: this lath, thanks to the turpentine contained in it, ſerved us inſtead of a candle, of which there was not one to be found in the whole village of Naitza. It is ſurprizing, that the careleſs method of uſing theſe lights is not oftner attended with dreadful effects; for the cottagers carry them about the houſe with ſuch little caution, that we frequently obſerved ſparks to drop upon the ſtraw which was prepared for our beds: nor were we able, by the ſtrongeſt expreſſion of fear, to awaken in them the ſlighteſt degree of circumſpection. For ſome time after entering this country, we uſed to ſtart up with no ſmall emo-

tion to extinguiſh the ſparks; but, ſuch is the irreſiſtible influence of cuſtom, we became at laſt perfectly inſenſible to the danger of this practice, and caught all the indifference of the natives. I once even ſo far forgot myſelf as to hold a lighted ſtick over an heap of ſtraw, while I was negligently ſearching for ſome trifle. This ſupineneſs, which I eaſily acquired in this inſtance, convinced me (if I may compare ſmall things to great), that I could live with the inhabitants at the foot of Mount Veſuvius, without dread of an eruption; or ſit unconcerned with the natives of Conſtantinople amid the devaſtations of the plague.

It is inconceivable how few are the wants of the Lithuanian peaſants! Their carts are put together without iron; their bridles and traces are generally plaited from the bark of trees, or compoſed of twiſted branches. They have no other tool but a hatchet, to conſtruct their huts, their furniture, and carts. Their dreſs is a thick linen ſhirt and drawers, a long coarſe drugget coat, or a ſheepſkin cloak, a round black felt cap lined with wool, and ſhoes made from the bark of trees. Their huts are built with trunks of trees heaped on each other, and look like piles of wood in wharfs with penthouſe roofs. How unlike the Swiſs cottages, though formed with the ſame materials! Nor are their houſes more diſſimilar than their manners. The ſtriking difference between

the

the Swiſs and Poliſh peaſants, in their very air and deportment, ſtrongly marks the contraſt of their reſpective governments. The Swiſs are open, frank, rough, but ready to ſerve you; they nod their heads, or ſlightly pull off their hats as you paſs by, but expect a return of civility, they are roufed by the leaſt rudeneſs, and are not inſulted with impunity. On the contrary, the Poliſh peaſants are cringing and ſervile in their expreſſions of reſpect: they bowed down to the ground, took off their hats or caps, holding them in their hands till we were out of ſight, and ſtopped their carts on the firſt glimpſe of our carriage; in ſhort, their whole behaviour gave evident ſymptoms of abject ſervitude. Yet liberty is as often the ſubject of encomium in Poland as in Switzerland; but how different are its operations in the two countries! In the one it is equally diffuſed, and ſpreads comfort and happineſs through the whole community; in the other it centers in a few, and is in reality the worſt ſpecies of deſpotiſm*.

In our progreſs through this country we obſerved ſeveral perſons with matted or clotted hair which ariſes from a diſorder called *Plica Polonica*: it receives that denomination, becauſe it is conſidered as peculiar to Poland; although it is not unfrequent in Hungary, Tartary, and ſeveral

* Written when Switzerland was free.

adjacent nations, and inſtances of it are occaſionally found in other countries.

According to the obſervations of Dr. Vicat, an ingenious Swiſs phyſician long reſident in Poland, who has publiſhed a ſatisfactory treatiſe * on this ſubject; the *Plica Polonica* proceeds from an acrid viſcous humour, penetrating into the hair †: it then exudes from its ſides or extremities, and clots the whole together, either in ſeparate folds, or in one undiſtinguiſhed maſs. The ſymptoms, more or leſs violent, according to the conſtitution of the patient, or malignity of the diſeaſe, are itchings, ſwellings, eruptions, ulcers, intermitting fevers, pains in the head, langour, lowneſs of ſpirits, rheumatiſm, gout; ſometimes convulſions, palſy, and madneſs. Theſe ſymptoms gradually decreaſe as the hair becomes affected. If the head of the patient be ſhaved, he relapſes into all the dreadful complaints which preceded the eruption of the *Plica*; and continues to labour under them, until a freſh growth of hair abſorbs the acrid humour. This diſorder is thought hereditary, and is proved to be contagious when in a virulent ſtate.

* Memoire ſur la Plique Polonoiſe.

† The dilatation of the hair is ſometimes ſo conſiderable as to contain globules of blood? this circumſtance, which however very rarely happens, has probably given riſe to the notion, that by cutting off the hair the patient bleeds to death.

Many

Many phyſical cauſes are ſuppoſed to concur in rendering the *Plica* more frequent in theſe regions than in other parts; but it would be endleſs to enumerate the various conjectures with which each perſon has ſupported his favourite hypotheſis: the moſt probable are thoſe aſſigned by Dr. Vicat. The firſt cauſe is the nature of the Poliſh air, which is rendered inſalubrious by numerous woods and moraſſes, and occaſionally derives an uncommon keenneſs, even in the midſt of ſummer, from the poſition of the Carpathian mountains: for the ſouthern and ſouth-eaſterly winds, which uſually convey warmth in other regions, are here chilled in their paſſage over their ſnowy ſummits. The ſecond is unwholeſome water: for although Poland is not deficient in good ſprings, yet the common people uſually drink that which is taken indiſcriminately from rivers, lakes, and even ſtagnant pools. The third cauſe is the groſs inattention of the natives to cleanlineſs; for experience ſhews, that thoſe who are not negligent in their perſons and habitations, are leſs liable to be afflicted with the plica. Thus perſons of higher rank are leſs ſubject to this diſorder than thoſe of inferior ſtations; the inhabitants of large towns than thoſe of ſmall villages; the free peaſants than thoſe in an abſolute ſtate of vaſſalage; the natives of Poland Proper than thoſe of Lithuania. In a word, the *Plica Polonica* appears

appears to be a contagious diſtemper, which, like the leproſy, ſtill prevails among a people ignorant in medicine, and inattentive to check its progreſs; but is rarely known in thoſe countries where due precautions * are taken to prevent its propagation.

* Its contagion is probably prevented from ſpreading among the Ruſſians by the uſe of the vapour bath.

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BOOK III.

CHAP. I.

Entrance into Ruſſia.—Limits and account of the province diſmembered from Poland.—Cheapneſs of the poſt.—Journey to Smolenſko.—Hiſtory and Deſcription of Smolenſko.—Divine ſervice in the cathedral.—Viſit to the biſhop.—Dinner with a judge.—Journey to Moſcow.—Peaſants.—Their dreſs, cottages, food, &c.

AUGUST 20. We entered Ruſſia at the ſmall village of Tolitzin, which in 1772 belonged to Poland; but it is now compriſed in the portion of country ceded by the late partition treaty. The province allotted to Ruſſia compriſes Poliſh Livonia, that part of the palatinate of Polotſk which lies to the eaſt of the Duna, the palatinates of Vitepſk, Miciſlaw, and two ſmall portions to the north-eaſt and ſouth-eaſt of the palatinate of Minſk; this tract of land (Poliſh Livonia excepted) is ſituated in White-Ruſſia, and includes at leaſt one third of Lithuania.

The Ruſſian limits of the new province are formed by the Duna, from its mouth to above Vitepſk; from thence by a ſtraight line running directly ſouth to the ſource of the Drug near Tolitzin, by the Drug to its junction with the Dnieper,

Dnieper, and laſtly, by the Dnieper to the point where it receives the Sotz. This territory is now divided into the two governments of Polotſk and Mohilef; the population amounts to 1,600,000 ſouls; its productions are chiefly grain, hemp, flax, and paſture; its foreſts furniſh great abundance of maſts, planks, alſo oak for ſhip-building, pitch and tar, which are chiefly ſent down the Duna to Riga.

At Tolitzin we were greatly aſtoniſhed at the cheapneſs of the poſt-horſes, and when our ſervant had diſcharged the firſt account, which amounted to only two copecs, or about a penny a verſt* for each horſe, we ſhould have concluded that he had cheated the poſt-maſter, had we not been well convinced, from the general character of the Ruſſians, that they were not likely to be duped by ſtrangers. Indeed we ſoon afterwards diſcovered, that even half of the charge, which we thought ſo extremely moderate, might have been ſaved, had we obtained an order from the Ruſſian embaſſador at Warſaw.

From Tolitzin, through the new government of Mohilef, the road was excellent, and of conſiderable breadth, with a double row of trees planted on each ſide, and ditches to drain off the water. We paſſed through ſeveral wretched villages, ferried at Orſa over the Dnieper, there

* Three quarters of a mile.

only

only a ſmall river, went through Dubroffna, and arrived in the evening at Lady. The country from Tolitzin to Lady is waving and ſomewhat hilly, abounds with foreſts, and produces corn, millet, hemp, and flax. In the largeſt villages we obſerved ſchools and other buildings, conſtructing at the expence of the empreſs, alſo churches with domes, intended for the Polish diſſidents of the Greek ſect, and the Ruſſians, who chuſe to ſettle in the country.

Lady is ſituated in the government of Smolenſko, and, before the late diſmemberment, was a Ruſſian frontier town: we took up our quarters at the poſt-houſe, where we procured a comfortable apartment. Theſe poſt-houſes, which frequently occur on the high-roads of Ruſſia, are moſtly conſtructed upon the ſame plan, and extremely convenient for the accommodation of travellers: they are large ſquare wooden buildings, enclоſing a ſpacious court-yard; in the center of the front is a range of apartments intended for the reception of travellers, with a gateway on each ſide leading into the court-yard; the remainder of the front is appropriated to the uſe of the poſt-maſter and his ſervants, the other three ſides of the quadrangle are divided into ſtables and ſheds for carriages, and large barns for hay and corn. We were agreeably ſurprized, even in this remote place, to meet with ſome Engliſh ſtrong beer,

beer, and no leſs pleaſed to ſee our ſupper ſerved in diſhes of Wedgewood's ware. The luxury of clean ſtraw for our beds was no ſmall addition to theſe comforts.

Calling for our bill in the morning, we found our charge as reaſonable as the entertainment was good. The ſatisfaction we expreſſed at our reception, perhaps induced the ſecretary (as the poſt-maſter himſelf was abſent) to think us proper ſubjects of impoſition. The diſtance to the next ſtation was about ten miles, and the ſecretary demanded three times the ſum allowed by the public regulations, under pretence of our not being provided with an order for poſt-horſes. We hinted ſome ſurprize at this charge: this intimation, though conveyed in the mildeſt terms, was anſwered with expreſſions of contempt and defiance; he ordered the horſes again into the ſtable, and declared we ſhould not ſtir from the place until we diſcharged the full ſum. Though we might eaſily have been prevailed upon by the ſlighteſt apology to ſubmit to the impoſition, we determined to chaſtiſe his inſolence. We repaired to the director of the cuſtom-houſe, and were immediately admitted: to our great ſatisfaction he ſpoke German, and after hearing our caſe, told us, that the Ruſſian had demanded treble the ſum he was intitled to; he aſſured us we ſhould receive inſtant redreſs, and that the offender

fender ſhould be puniſhed. Having diſpatched a meſſenger, to whom he whiſpered a private order, he deſired us to wait his return, and offered us coffee. While we were drinking it, he gave us much information relative to the Ruſſian poſts, added ſeveral hints, which afterwards proved ſingularly uſeful, and adviſed us to procure an order for horſes from the governor of Smolenſko. In the midſt of this converſation a carriage drove to the door, which we perceived to be our own, with all things ready for our immediate departure: the poſt-maſter's ſecretary made at the ſame time his appearance in a ſubmiſſive attitude; we interceded with the director for his back, and obtained a promiſe that he ſhould only be reprimanded. After making thoſe acknowledgments to the friendly director, which were due to his politeneſs, we took our leave, and proceeded on our journey.

We were much chagrined at finding that the excellent new road terminated at Lady: it was ſome ſatisfaction, however, that the remaining parts from thence to Smolenſko proved far ſuperior to thoſe we had encountered in the Lithuanian foreſts. The villages were an exact counterpart to thoſe we had quitted, and exhibited a repetition of ſcenes already detailed. The Ruſſians differ widely in their appearance and dreſs from the Poliſh peaſants. The moſt ſtriking

contraſt

contraſt ariſes from the method of wearing their hair: the Ruſſians, inſtead of ſhaving their heads, let their hair hang over the eye-brows and ears, and cut it ſhort round the neck. The country was undulating and hilly, and more open than uſual until we arrived within a few miles of Smolenſko; when we plunged into a thick foreſt, which continued almoſt to the gates of the town, without the intervention of a ſingle village, or ſcarcely of a ſingle cottage.

In 1403, Smolenſko, which belonged to the Ruſſians, was beſieged and taken by Vitoldus, and, together with the whole province, united to the duchy of Lithuania *. During the inveterate enmity which ſubſiſted between the Ruſſians and Poles, Smolenſko was a place of great importance; though only fortified according to the cuſtom of the time, partly with ramparts of earth and ditches, and partly with palliſadoes, and a wooden citadel †; theſe fortifications were, however, ſufficiently ſtrong to reſiſt the deſultory attacks of undiſciplined troops, and it was at different intervals ineffectually beſieged, until the beginning of the 16th century, Vaſſili Ivanovitch great duke of Moſcovy obtained poſſeſſion by corrupting the garriſon. It continued in the hands of the Ruſſians above a cen-

* Dlugoſſius, Lib. X. p. 104. et ſeq.

† Rerum Moſc. Auct. p. 52. Mayerberg Iter. Moſc. p. 74.

tury,

tury, in the ſame ſimple ſtyle of defence. At length the importance of its ſituation near the frontiers of Poland, and the improvements in the art of war, induced Boris Godunof, prime miniſter, and brother-in-law of the tzar Feodor Ivanovitch, to ſurround it with a wall: he came in perſon to Smolenſko, and aſſiſted in tracing the ſite of the fortifications, which he lived to ſee completed in his own reign*, and which ſtill ſubſiſt. Theſe additional ramparts, however, did not prevent Sigiſmond III. king of Poland, from taking the town in 1611; and by the truce of Develina in 1618, the poſſeſſion was confirmed to Poland. In 1654 it was again reduced by Alexèy Michaelovitch; and in 1686 finally ceded to Ruſſia at the peace of Moſcow †.

Smolenſko, though by no means the moſt magnificent, is by far the moſt ſingular town I have ever ſeen. It is ſituated upon the river Dnieper, and occupies two hills, and the intervening valley. It is ſurrounded by walls thirty feet high and fifteen in thickneſs; the lower part of ſtone, and the upper of brick: theſe walls, which follow the ſhape of the hills, and encloſe a circumference of ſeven verſts‡, have, at every angle, round or ſquare towers of two or three

* S. R. G. vol. V. p. 94. Lengnich, Jus Pub. v. I. p. 46.

† Lengnich, vol. I. p. 47.

‡ Four miles and three quarters.

ſtories, much broader at top than at bottom, and covered with circular roofs of wood. The intervals are ſtudded with ſmaller turrets; on the outſide of the wall is a broad deep ditch, regular covered way with traverſes and glacis, and where the ground is higheſt, are redoubts in the modern ſtyle of fortification. In the middle of the town is an eminence, upon which ſtands the cathedral; from whence I had a moſt pictureſque view of the town, interſperſed within the circuit of the walls, with gardens, groves, copſes, fields of paſture, and corn. The buildings are moſtly wooden, of one ſtory (many no better than cottages) excepting here and there a gentleman's houſe, which is called a palace, and ſeveral churches, conſtructed of brick and ſtuccoed. One long broad ſtreet, which is paved, interſects the whole length of the town in a ſtraight line; the other ſtreets wind in circular directions, and are floored with planks. The walls, ſtretching over the uneven ſides of the hills till they reach the banks of the Dnieper, their antient ſtyle of architecture, and groteſque towers; the ſpires of churches ſhooting above the trees, which are ſo numerous as almoſt to conceal the buildings from view; the appearance of meadows and arable ground; all theſe objects blended together exhibit a ſcene of the moſt ſingular and contraſted kind. On the further ſide of the Dnie-

per

per many ſtraggling wooden houſes form the ſuburbs, and are joined to the town by a wooden bridge. As far as I could collect from vague information, Smolenſko contains 4,000 inhabitants: it has no manufactures, but carries on ſome commerce with the Ukraine, Dantzic, and Riga. The principal articles of trade are flax, hemp, honey, wax, hides, hogs' briſtles, maſts, planks, and Siberian furs.

The Dnieper riſes in the foreſt of Volkonſki near the ſource of the Volga, about 100 miles from Smolenſko, paſſes by Smolenſko and Mohilef, ſeparates the Ukraine from Poland, flows by Kiof, and falls into the Black-ſea between Otchakof and Kinburn. By the acquiſition of the province of Mohilef, the whole courſe is now included within the Ruſſian territories. It begins to be navigable at a little diſtance above Smolenſko; but in ſome ſeaſons of the year is ſo ſhallow near the town, that the goods muſt be tranſported on rafts and ſmall flat-bottomed boats.

Having occaſion for a new paſſport and an order for horſes, we called upon the governor, in company with a Ruſſian ſtudent, who ſpoke Latin, for our interpreter. The governor being at church, we repaired to the cathedral, and waited until the concluſion of divine ſervice. The cathedral is a ſtately building, erected on

the ſpot where formerly ſtood the palace of the antient dukes of Smolenſko. The inſide walls are covered with coarſe paintings repreſenting our Saviour, the Virgin, and a variety of Saints, which abound in the Greek calendar. The ſhrine, or ſanctuary, into which only the prieſts are admitted, is ſeparated from the body of the church by a ſcreen with folding doors, and ornamented with twiſted pillars of the Corinthian order, richly carved and gilded.

The worſhip ſeemed to conſiſt of innumerable ceremonies: the people croſſed themſelves without ceaſing, bowed towards the ſhrine and to each other, and even touched the ground with their heads. The biſhop of Smolenſko performed the ſervice; he was a venerable figure, with white flowing hair and long beard; he was dreſſed in rich epiſcopal robes, and had a crown on his head. The folding doors were occaſionally opened and cloſed with great pomp and ſolemnity whenever the biſhop retired within, or came forth to bleſs the people. At the concluſion of the ſervice, the doors being thrown open, the biſhop advanced with a chandelier in each hand, one containing three, and the other two lighted candles, which he repeatedly croſſed over each other in different directions; and then waving them towards the congregation, concluded with a final benediction. Theſe chandeliers, as I am informed, are ſymbolical;

ſymbolical, one alludes to the Trinity, and the other to the two natures of Chriſt.

At the end of the ſervice, we preſented ourſelves to the governor, who, to our ſurprize, received us with an air of coldneſs, which made ſuch an impreſſion on our interpreter, that he could not utter a ſingle word. At length a gentleman in the governor's train accoſted us in French, and inquired our buſineſs. Informing him that we were Engliſh gentlemen who deſired a paſſport, and an order for horſes, he told us with a ſmile, that the plainneſs of our dreſſes had raiſed a ſuſpicion of our being tradeſmen; but he was not ignorant that Engliſh gentlemen ſeldom wore lace or ſwords on a journey; an intimation which recalled to our recollection the advice of our Poliſh friend at Minſk. He then whiſpered the governor, who inſtantly aſſumed an appearance of complacency, and teſtified an intention of complying with our requeſt.

This matter being adjuſted, the biſhop joined the company; he had laid aſide the coſtly garments, in which he performed the ſervice, and was dreſſed in a long black robe, a round black cap, and veil. He addreſſed us in Latin, and invited us to his houſe. He led the way; and we followed with the reſt of the company to a commodious wooden building adjoining to the cathedral. On entering the apartment, the go-

vernor and Ruſſian gentlemen kiſſed his hand with great marks of reſpect. After deſiring all the company to ſit, he diſtinguiſhed us by particular attention; obſerving, with much politeneſs, that our company gave him greater pleaſure, as he had never, ſince his reſidence at Smolenſko, received a viſit from any Engliſhmen, for whoſe nation he had the higheſt reſpect. During this converſation a ſervant ſpread a cloth upon a ſmall table, and placed upon it a plate of bread, ſome ſalt, and ſome flowers: another followed with a ſalver of ſmall glaſſes full of a tranſparent liquor. The biſhop bleſſed the bread and the ſalver with great ſolemnity, and then took a glaſs; we thought it at firſt a religious ceremony; but were undeceived when the ſervants offered the bread and ſalver to us as well as to the reſt of the company. Every one being ſerved, the biſhop drank all our healths, a compliment which the company returned with a bow, and inſtantly emptied their glaſſes: we followed this example, and found the liquor to be a dram of cherry-water. This preliminary being ſettled, we reſumed our converſation with the biſhop, and aſked ſeveral queſtions relative to the antient ſtate of Smolenſko. He anſwered every inquiry with great readineſs; gave us a conciſe account of the ſtate of the town under its antient dukes, and informed us that their palace

was

was ſituated on the ſpot now occupied by the cathedral, which was built by Feodor Michaelovitch, brother of Peter the Great, and had been lately repaired and beautified. After half an hour's agreeable converſation, we took our leave, greatly pleaſed with the politeneſs and affability of the prelate.

Our interpreter, then conducted us to the ſeminary, appropriated for the education of the clergy, in which the Latin, Greek, German, and Poliſh languages are taught: the prieſt who ſhewed us the library talked Latin; he introduced us into his chamber, and, according to the hoſpitable cuſtom of this country, offered us ſome refreſhment, which conſiſted of cakes and mead.

In the afternoon the Ruſſian gentleman, who ſo obligingly relieved us from our embarraſſment before the governor, kindly paid us a viſit, and invited us to dine with him on the following day. We accepted his invitation, and waited upon him at two, the uſual hour of dining: he was a judge, and lived in a wooden houſe provided by the court; the rooms were ſmall, but neatly furniſhed. The company conſiſted of the judge, his wife and ſiſter, all of whom talked French: the ladies were dreſſed in the French faſhion, with much rouge; they did not curtſy; but their mode of ſalute was to bow their heads very low. Be-

fore dinner *liqueurs* were handed about; each lady took a ſmall glaſs, and recommended the ſame to us as favourable to digeſtion. The table was neatly ſet out, the dinner excellent, and ſerved up in Engliſh cream-coloured ware. Beſides plain roaſt and boiled meats, ſeveral Ruſſian diſhes were introdued; one of theſe was a ſallad compoſed of muſhrooms and onions, and another the grain of green corn, baked and moiſtened with ſweet oil. Before we roſe from table, our hoſt calling for a large glaſs, filled a bumper of champagne, drank it off to our health, and then handed the glaſs round. "This is an old cuſtom," he ſaid, "and was meant as an expreſſion of regard: the age is now grown delicate, and the free effuſions of hoſpitality muſt be ſuppreſſed by ceremony; but I am an old-faſhioned man, and cannot eaſily relinquiſh the habits of my youth."

After dinner we adjourned to another room, and played two or three rubbers of whiſt. Coffee and tea were brought in, and a plate of ſweet-meats was handed round to the company. At ſix we took leave of our friendly hoſt, and returned to our inn, if it may be called by that honourable appellation. This inn, the only one in the town, was a wooden building, in a ruinous ſtate, formerly painted on the outſide. The apartment which we occupied had once been hung with paper, fragments of which here and there

there covered a ſmall portion of the wainſcot, a patch work of old and new planks. The furniture conſiſted of two benches and as many chairs, one without a bottom, and the other without a back; a deal box ſerved the purpoſe of a table. We were inclined to conjecture that there was a heavy tax upon air and light; for all the windows were cloſed with planks, except one, which could not be opened, and could ſcarcely be ſeen through, on account of the dirt with which it was incruſted. In the inventory of theſe valuables I ſhould not omit a couch upon which I ſlept: it had been ſo often mended, that like Sir John Cutler's ſtockings, immortalized by *Martinus Scriblerus*, we could not diſtinguiſh any part of the original materials. It may perhaps appear ſurprizing, that a town like Smolenſko ſhould contain no tolerable inn; but the ſurprize will ceaſe when we reflect that few ſtrangers paſs this way; that the Ruſſians carry their proviſions, and either continue their journey during the night, or are accommodated in private houſes.

Auguſt 25. We quitted Smolenſko, croſſed the Dnieper over a wooden bridge into the ſuburbs, and purſued our journey through a valley of fine paſture watered by the Dnieper, ſpotted with underwood, and terminating on each ſide in gentle eminences clothed with trees. As we advanced; the country became more abrupt, but no where

roſe

roſe into any conſiderable hill. Near Slovoda, a large ſtraggling village, where we ſtopped for a few hours during the darkneſs of the night, we again croſſed the Dnieper on a raft formed of trunks of trees tied together with cords, and ſcarcely large enough to receive the carriage, which ſunk it ſome inches under water: this machine was then puſhed from the banks until it met another of the ſame kind, to which the horſes ſtepped with difficulty; and the diſtance of the two rafts from each other was ſo conſiderable, that the carriage could ſcarcely be prevented from ſlipping between them into the river.

The ſecond poſt from this primitive ferry was Dogorobuſh, built upon a riſing hill, and exhibiting, like Smolenſko, though on a ſmaller ſcale, an intermixture of churches, houſes, cottages, corn-fields, and meadows: ſome of the houſes, lately conſtructed at the empreſs's expence, were of brick covered with ſtucco, and had the appearance of palaces when contraſted with the meanneſs of the ſurrounding hovels. This place was formerly a ſtrong fortreſs, and frequently beſieged during the wars between Ruſſia and Poland. From the ramparts of the antient citadel we commanded an extenſive view of the adjacent country, conſiſting of a large plain watered by the winding Dnieper, and bounded by diſtant hills. From Dogorobuſh we

proceeded 24 miles to a ſmall village called Zarateſh, where we thought ourſelves fortunate in being houſed for the night in a tolerable hut, which afforded a rare inſtance of accommodation in theſe parts, a room ſeparated from that uſed by the family. Our hoſteſs was a true Aſiatic figure: ſhe was dreſſed in a blue garment without ſleeves, which deſcended to the ankles, and was tied round the waiſt with a red ſaſh; ſhe wore a white piece of linen wrapped round her head like a turban, ear-rings, and necklace of variegated beads; her ſandals were faſtened with blue ſtrings, which were alſo tied round the ankles, in order to keep up the coarſe linen wrappers that ſerved for ſtockings.

Auguſt 27. Our route the next morning, from Zarateſh to Viaſma, lay through a continued foreſt, occaſionally relieved by the intervention of paſtures and cornfields. When we reflected that we were in the 55th degree of northern latitude, we were ſurprized at the forwardneſs of the harveſt: the wheat and barley were already carried in, and the peaſants employed in cutting the oats and millet. Since our departure from Smolenſko the weather proved remarkably cold, and the wind had the keenneſs of a November blaſt: the peaſants were all clothed in their ſheepſkins, or winter dreſſes.

At a ſmall diſtance from Viaſma we paſſed the rivulet

rivulet of the ſame name, navigable only for rafts, which deſcend its ſtream into the Dnieper; we then mounted a ſmall eminence to the town, which makes a magnificent appearance with the domes and ſpires of ſeveral churches riſing above the trees. Viaſma ſpreads over a large extent of ground; the buildings are moſtly of wood, a few houſes of brick excepted, lately erected by the munificence of the empreſs. Part of the principal ſtreet is formed, like the Ruſſian roads, of trees laid croſs-ways, and part is boarded with planks like the floor of a room. It contains above twenty churches, a remarkable number for a place but thinly inhabited. The churches in theſe ſmall towns and villages are chiefly ornamented with a cupola and ſeveral domes; the outſide walls are either white-waſhed or painted red; and the cupolas or domes are generally green, or of a different colour from the other parts. At ſome diſtance the number of ſpires and domes riſing above the trees, which conceal the contiguous hovels, would lead a traveller unacquainted with the country to expect a large city, where he will only find a collection of wooden huts.

At Viaſma was concluded, in 1634, the treaty of perpetual peace between Ladiſlaus IV. king of Poland, and Michael Feodorovitch: by which treaty Michael confirmed the ceſſion of Smolenſko,

ſko, Severia, and Tchernichef, which had been yielded to the Poles at the truce of Develina; while Ladiſlaus renounced the title of Tzar, and acknowledged Michael as the rightful ſovereign of Ruſſia *. On this occaſion both monarchs relinquiſhed what they did not poſſeſs, and wiſely ſacrificed imaginary pretenſions to the attainment of a ſubſtantial peace.

The Ruſſian peaſants appear in general a large coarſe hardy race, and of great bodily ſtrength. their dreſs is a round hat or cap with a high crown, a coarſe robe of drugget (or in winter of ſheep-ſkin, with the wool turned inwards) reaching below the knee, and bound round the waiſt by a ſaſh, trowſers of linen almoſt as thick as ſack-cloth, a woollen or flannel cloth wrapped round the leg inſtead of ſtockings, ſandals woven from ſtrips of a pliant bark, and faſtened by ſtrings of the ſame materials, which are afterwards twined round the leg, and ſerve as garters to the woollen or flannel wrappers. In warm weather the peaſants frequently wear only a ſhort coarſe ſhirt and trowſers.

The cottages are built in the ſame manner as thoſe of Lithuania; but larger, and ſomewhat better provided with furniture and domeſtic utenſils: they are of a ſquare ſhape; formed of whole trees, piled upon one another, and ſecured at the

* Lengnich, Hiſt. Pol. p. 167.

four

four corners with mortiſes and tenons. The interſtices between theſe piles are filled with moſs. Within, the timbers are ſmoothed with the axe, ſo as to form the appearance of wainſcot; but without are left with the bark in their rude ſtate. The roofs are in the penthouſe form, and generally compoſed of the bark of trees or ſhingles, which are ſometimes covered with mould or turf. The peaſants uſually conſtruct the whole houſe ſolely with the aſſiſtance of the hatchet, and cut the planks of the floor with the ſame inſtrument, in many parts being unacquainted with the uſe of the ſaw: they finiſh the ſhell of the houſe and the roof, before they begin to cut the windows or doors. The windows are apertures of a few inches ſquare, cloſed with ſliding frames, and the doors are ſo low as not to admit a middle-ſized man without ſtooping. Theſe cottages ſometimes, though very rarely, conſiſt of two ſtories; in which caſe the lower apartment is a ſtore-room, and the upper the habitable part of the houſe: the ſtair caſe is moſt commonly a ladder on the outſide. Moſt of theſe huts are, however, only one ſtory, a few of them contain two rooms, the generality only one. In ſome of this latter ſort I was frequently awakened by the chickens picking the grains of corn in the ſtraw upon which I lay, and more than once by a leſs inoffenſive animal. At Tabluka, a village, where

where we paſſed the night of the 27th, a party of hogs, at four in the morning, rouſed me by grunting cloſe to my ear. Not much pleaſed either with the earlineſs of the viſit, or the ſalutation of my viſitors, I called out to my ſervant, "Joſeph, drive theſe gentry out of the room, and ſhut the door." "There is no door that will ſhut," replied Joſeph, with great compoſure; "we have tried every expedient to faſten it without ſucceſs; the hogs have more than once been excluded, but have as often returned." This converſation effectually rouſing me, I determined to reſign to my unwelcome gueſts that litter which I could no longer enjoy, and contemplated, by the light of a ſlip of deal, the ſurrounding ſcene. My two companions were ſtretched upon the ſame parcel of ſtraw from which I had juſt emerged; a little beyond our ſervants occupied a ſeparate heap; at a ſmall diſtance three Ruſſians, with long beards, and coarſe ſackcloth ſhirts and trowſers, lay extended upon their backs on the bare floor; on the oppoſite ſide of the room three women in their clothes ſlumbered on a long bench; while the top of the ſtove afforded a couch to a woman dreſſed like the others, and four ſprawling children almoſt naked.

The furniture in theſe cottages conſiſts chiefly of a wooden table or dreſſer, and benches faſtened to the ſides of the room: the utenſils are wooden

wooden platters, bowls, and ſpoons, with perhaps one large earthen pan, for cooking. The food of the peaſants is black-rye-bread, ſometimes white, eggs, ſalt-fiſh, bacon, muſhrooms; their favourite diſh is a hodge-podge of ſalt or freſh meat, groats, and rye-flour, highly ſeaſoned with onions and garlic, which are much uſed by the Ruſſians.

The peaſants were greedy of money; almoſt always demanded previous payment for every trifle, and were in general much inclined to thieving. In Poland it was not neceſſary to be always upon the watch; and we frequently left the equipage during the whole night without a guard: but in Ruſſia, without the precaution of regularly ſtationing a ſervant in the carriage, every article would ſoon have diſappeared; yet even with this expedient, the watchfulneſs of our *Argus* was continually baffled by the ſuperior vigilance of the natives, and the morning generally announced ſome petty loſs, to which the night had given birth.

The peaſants at every poſt were obliged to furniſh us with horſes at a fixed and reaſonable rate, which had the ill effect of rendering them extremely dilatory in their motions, and as our only interpreter was a Bohemian * ſervant, not

* The Bohemian and Ruſſian languages are both dialects of the Sclavonian tongue.

perfectly

perfectly acquainted with the Ruſſian language, his difficulty in explaining, joined to their backwardneſs in executing our orders, occaſioned delays of ſeveral hours for a change of horſes. The peaſants acted in the capacity of coachmen and poſtillions; they always harneſſed four horſes a-breaſt, commonly put eight, and ſometimes even ten horſes to our carriage; as the ſtages were for the moſt part twenty, and ſometimes thirty miles, and the roads extremely bad. They ſeldom uſed either boots or ſaddles, and had no ſort of ſtirrup, except a rope doubled and thrown acroſs the horſe's back. Each horſe was equipped with a ſnaffle-bridle, which however was ſeldom inſerted into the mouth, but generally hung looſe under the jaw. The method of driving was not in a ſteady pace, but by ſtarts and bounds, with little attention to the nature of the ground: the peaſants ſeldom trotted their horſes, but would ſuddenly force them into a gallop through the worſt roads, and ſometimes as ſuddenly check their ſpeed upon the moſt level ſurface. A common piece of rope ſerved them for a whip, which they ſeldom had any occaſion to uſe, as they urged their horſes forwards by hooting and whiſtling like cat-calls. The intervals of theſe noiſes were filled with ſinging, which is a favourite practice among the Ruſſians, and has been mentioned by moſt travellers who

have viſited this country. From the wretched harneſs, which was continually breaking, the badneſs of the roads, the length of time we were always detained at the poſts before we could procure horſes, and other impediments, we were ſeldom able to travel more than forty or fifty miles a day; although we commenced our journey before ſun-riſe, and purſued it till it was dark.

Auguſt 27. Near Viaſma we entered the vaſt foreſt of Volkonſki, through which we continued for 150 miles without interruption, almoſt to the gates of Moſcow. This foreſt, which ſtretches on all ſides to an immenſe extent, gives riſe to the principal rivers of European Ruſſia, the Duna, the Dnieper, and the Volga. The ſources of the Duna were at ſome diſtance from our route; but thoſe of the Dnieper and the Volga roſe at ſmall intervals from each other, not far from Viaſma. The country in this part was more than uſual broken into hill and dale; though it ſtill exhibited rather a ſucceſſion of waving ſurface, than any conſiderable elevations.

On the 28th we arrived at the village of Gretkeva towards the cloſe of the evening, and imprudently proceeded on our journey another ſtage of eighteen miles: the evening was exceedingly dark, cold, and rainy; the road uncommonly bad,

bad, and we were in continual apprehenſions of being overturned. The greateſt danger, however, which we encountered, was unknown to us until we reached the end of the ſtation: we were then informed by our ſervants, that we had croſſed a broad piece of water upon a wooden bridge without railing, ſo infirm that it almoſt cracked under the carriage, and ſo narrow that one of the hind-wheels was for an inſtant ſuſpended over the precipice. Our uſual good fortune, however, brought us ſafe between twelve and one to a cottage at Moſhaiſk, where we found an excellent ragout of beef and onions prepared by the truſty ſervant, who always preceded us, and provided our lodging and ſupper. I have little to ſay of Moſhaiſk, as we entered it at ſo late an hour, and departed the next morning by day-break. We changed horſes at the village of Selo-Naro, and arrived early in the evening at Malo-à-Viaſma, emboſomed in the foreſt, and pleaſantly ſituated at the edge of a ſmall lake. This place was diſtant only 24 miles from Moſcow, where we were impatient to arrive; but we prudently deferred our journey until the next morning, as we did not chuſe to tempt fortune by expoſing ourſelves a ſecond time to dangers in a dark night and in an unknown country.

The road for ſome way before we came to

Malo-à-Viaſma, and from thence to Moſcow, was a broad ſtraight avenue cut through the foreſt. The trees, which compoſed theſe vaſt plantations, ſet by the hand of Nature, were oaks, beech, mountain-aſh, poplar, pines and firs, mingled together in the moſt wanton variety. The different ſhades of green, and the rich tints of the autumnal colours, were inexpreſſibly beautiful; while the ſublime, but uniform expanſe of foreſt was occaſionally relieved by receſſes of paſtures and corn fields.

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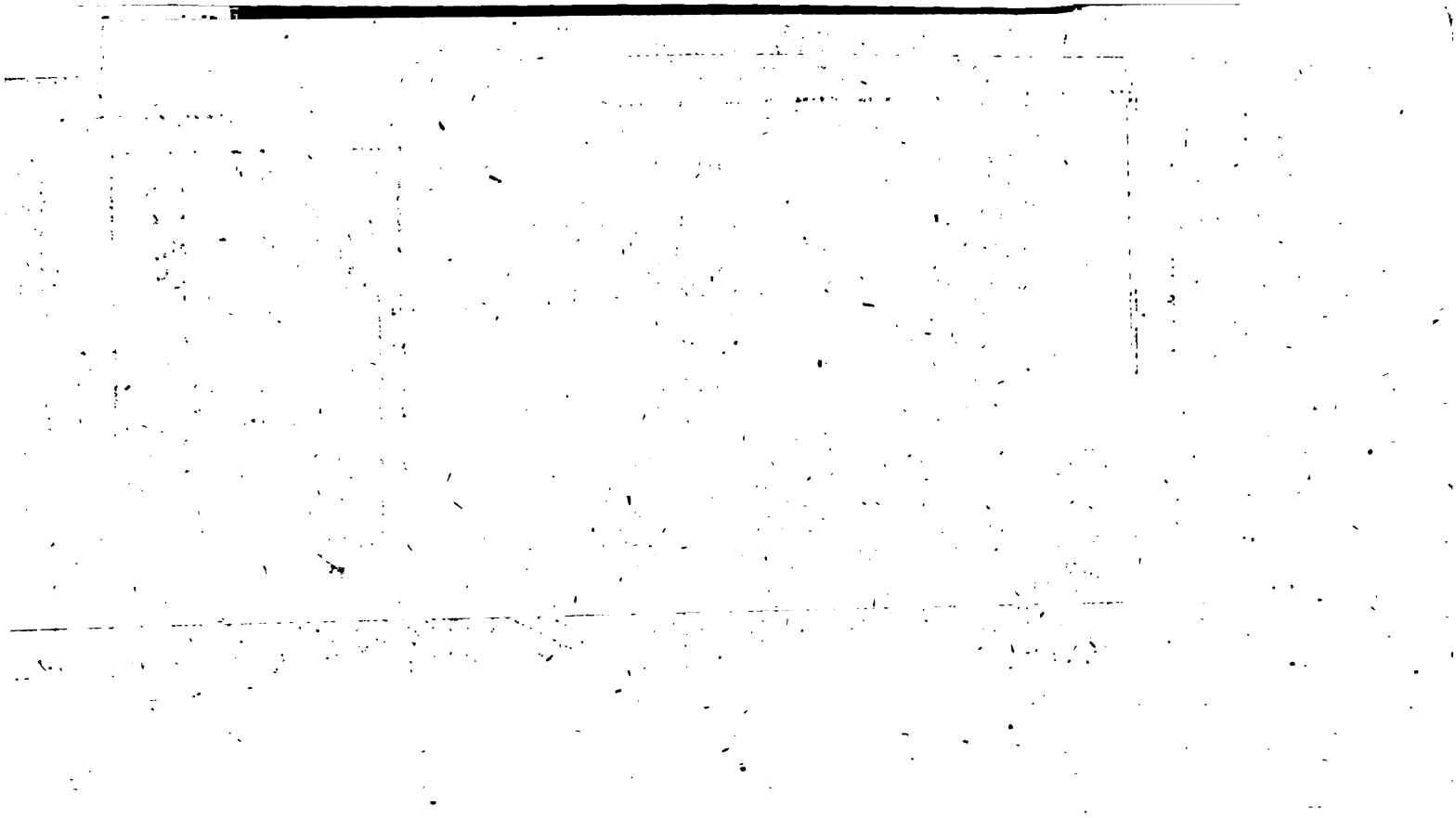
ſucceeded by a range of open pastures. W
ſſed the river Moſkva on a long ſpecies of raft
ating, faſtened to each bank, which the Ruſ-
ns call a *living-bridge*, becauſe it bends under



CHAP. 2.

Moſcow.—Hiſtory.—Removal of the ſeat of empire to Peterſburgh.—Population and deſcription of Moſcow.—Diviſions.—Kremlin.—Khitaigorod.—Bielgorod.—Semlainigorod.—Sloboda, or ſuburbs.—New palace-gardens.—Old Style.—Hoſpitality of the Ruſſian nobles.—Account of Muller the celebrated hiſtorian.—Anniverſary of St. Alexander Nevſki.—Entertainments at Count Alexey Orlof's—his ſtud.—Boxing matches.—Vauxhall.

AUGUST 30. The approach to Moſcow was firſt announced at the diſtance of ſix miles by ſome ſpires over-topping an eminence at the extremity of the broad avenue cut through the foreſt; about two or three miles further we aſcended a height, from whence a ſuperb proſpect of the vaſt city burſt upon our ſight. It ſtretched in the form of a creſcent, to a prodigious extent; while innumerable churches, towers, gilded ſpires and domes, white, red, and green buildings, glittering in the ſun, formed a ſplendid appearance, yet ſtrangely contraſted by an intermixture of wooden hovels. The neighbouring country was undulating; the foreſt reached to within a mile of the ramparts, and was ſucceeded by a range of open paſtures. We croſſed the river Moſkva on a long ſpecies of raft floating, faſtened to each bank, which the Ruſſians call a *living-bridge*, becauſe it bends under

the carriage. After a ſtrict examination of our paſſport we drove through the ſuburbs along a wooden road; entered one of the interior circles of the town, called Bielgorod, and took up our quarters at an inn kept by a Frenchman, at which ſome of the nobility hold aſſemblies. Our apartments were convenient and ſpacious; we alſo found every accommodation in abundance, except beds and ſheets; for as no one who is experienced in the cuſtoms of this country, travels without thoſe articles, inns are ſeldom provided with them. With much trouble, however, we obtained from our landlord two bedſteads with bedding, and one matraſs to place upon the floor; we could not procure more than three ſheets, one of which fell to my ſhare; but we had been ſo long accuſtomed to ſleep on ſtraw, that we fancied ourſelves in a ſtate of unheard-of luxury, and bleſſed our good fortune.

Antiquaries differ conſiderably concerning the foundation of Moſcow; but the following account is moſt probable*:

Moſcow owes its foundation to George ſon of Vladimir Monomaka, who, in 1154, aſcended the throne of Ruſſia. Being inſulted by Stephen Kutchko, prince of Suſdal, he confiſcated

* See Sumorokof's Kleine Chronik Von Moſcau in St. Pet. Journal for 1776; and Schœbat's Russ. Gesch. p. 736.

his

his domains, of which the lands now occupied by this city, formed a part, and laid the foundation of a new town, which he called Moſkva, from the river of that name. But the town fell into ſuch decay under his ſucceſſors, that when Daniel, ſon of Alexander Newſki, received, in the diviſion of the empire, the duchy of Moſcovy as his portion, and fixed his reſidence at this place, he may be ſaid to have new founded the town. The ſpot now occupied by the Kremlin, was at that time a moraſs overſpread with a thick wood, containing a ſmall iſland with only a ſingle hut. On this part Daniel conſtructed numerous buildings, and encloſed it with wooden fortifications. He firſt aſſumed the title of duke of Moſcow, and was ſo attached to this ſituation, that on ſucceeding his brother Andrew Alexandrovitch in the great duchy of Vladimir, he continued his reſidence at Moſcow, which became the capital of the Ruſſian dominions. His ſon Ivan conſiderably enlarged the new metropolis, and in 1367 his grandſon Demetrius Ivanovitch Donſki ſurrounded the Kremlin with a brick wall. Theſe new fortifications, however, did not prevent Tamerlane, in 1382, from taking the town*. Being ſoon evacuated by that deſultory conqueror, it again came into the poſſeſſion of the Ruſſians; but was frequently occupied by

* S. R. G. vol. II. p. 93.

the Tartars, who in the 14th and 15th centuries over-ran Ruſſia, and even maintained a garriſon in Moſcow, until they were finally expelled by Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. To him Moſcow is indebted for its principal ſplendour, and under him it became the moſt conſiderable city of the Ruſſian empire.

The Baron of Herberſtein, embaſſador from the emperor Maximilian to the great-duke Vaſſili, ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch, in the beginning of the ſixteenth century, is the firſt foreign writer who gave a deſcription of Moſcow, which he accompanied with a coarſe engraving of the town in wood*. In this curious, but rude plan, may be diſtinguiſhed the walls of the Kremlin, or citadel, in their preſent ſtate, and ſeveral of the public buildings, which even now contribute to its ornament. From this period we are able to trace its progreſs and gradual increaſe, under the ſucceeding ſovereigns, in the accounts of ſeveral Engliſh† and foreign‡ travellers.

Moſcow continued the metropolis until the beginning of the preſent century: when, to the great diſſatisfaction of the nobility, but with

* See Rer Moſ. Com. in Rer. Moſ. Auct.

† Chiefly Chancellor, Fletcher, Smith, the author of Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy, Perry, Bruce, &c.

‡ Poſſevinus, Margaret, Petreius, Olearius, Mayerberg, Le Bruyn, &c.

great

great advantage to the ſtate, the ſeat of empire was transferred to Peterſburgh.

Notwithſtanding the predilection which Peter conceived for Peterſburgh, in which all the ſucceeding ſovereigns, excepting Peter II. have fixed their reſidence, Moſcow is ſtill the moſt populous city of the Ruſſian empire. Here the chief nobles, who do not belong to the court of the empreſs, reſide; they here ſupport a large number of retainers, gratify their taſte for a ruder and more expenſive magnificence in the antient ſtyle of feudal grandeur, and are not, as at Peterſburgh, eclipſed by the ſuperior ſplendour of the imperial eſtabliſhment.

Moſcow is ſituated in the longitude of 37 degrees 31 minutes from the firſt meridian of Greenwich, and in 55 degrees 45 minutes 45 ſeconds of northern latitude. It is the largeſt town in Europe; the circumference within the rampart, which encloſes the ſuburbs, being 39 verſts, or 26 miles*; but it is built in ſo ſtraggling a manner, that the population in no degree correſponds to the extent. Some Ruſſian authors ſtate the inhabitants at 500,000; a number evidently exaggerated. According to Buſching, who reſided ſome years in Ruſſia, Moſ-

* The circumference is nearly equal to that of Pekin, which, including the ſuburbs, meaſures 40 verſts, or 26 miles and three-quarters. Journal of St. Pet. April 1775, p. 243.

cow,

cow, in 1770, contained 708 brick-houſes, and 11,840 wooden habitations*; 85,731 males and 67,059 females, in all only 152,790 ſouls; a computation which errs in the other extreme†. According to an account publiſhed in the Journal of St. Peterſburgh‡, the diſtrict of Moſcow contained, in the beginning of 1780, 2,178 hearths; and the number of inhabitants were 137,698 males, and 134,918 females, in all 272,616 ſouls. In the courſe of the ſame year the deaths amounted to 3,702, and the births to 8,621; and in the end, the population of the diſtrict was found to be 140,143 males, and 137,392 females, in all 277,535 ſouls. This computation is more accurate than either of the others; and its truth has been recently confirmed by an Engliſh gentleman lately returned from Moſcow, who made this topic the ſubject of his inquiries. According to his account, which he received from the lieutenant of the police§, Moſcow contains within the ramparts 250,000 ſouls, and in the adjacent villages, 50,000.

If

* According to Heym, Moſcow contained, in 1793, 8439 houſes, of which 1382 were of brick.

† Buſching's Neue Erdbeſchreibung, V. I. p. 841. Edit. 1777.

‡ For 1781, p. 209.

§ This computation may be relied upon. For as a new aqueduct near Moſcow was juſt finiſhed, it was neceſſary to form as exact an eſtimate as poſſible of the number of inhabitants, in order to

If I was ſtruck with the ſingularity of Smolenſko, I was all aſtoniſhment at the immenſity and variety of Moſcow, a city ſo irregular, ſo uncommon, ſo extraordinary, and ſo contraſted, never before claimed my attention. The ſtreets are in general exceedingly long and broad: ſome are paved; others, particularly thoſe in the ſuburbs, formed with trunks of trees, or boarded with planks like the floor of a room; wretched hovels are blended with large palaces; cottages of one ſtory ſtand next to the moſt ſtately manſions. Many brick ſtructures are covered with wooden tops; ſome of the timber houſes are painted, others have iron doors and roofs. Numerous churches preſent themſelves in every quarter, built in the oriental ſtyle of architecture; ſome with domes of copper, others of tin, gilt or painted green, and many roofed with wood. In a word, ſome parts of this vaſt city have the appearance of a ſequeſtered deſert, other quarters, of a populous town; ſome of a contemptible village, others of a great capital.

Moſcow may be conſidered as a town built upon the Aſiatic model, but gradually becoming

to regulate the neceſſary ſupply of water for each family. Richter obſerves, "The population of Moſcow differs according to the ſeaſon of the year. In winter, when the nobility and their retainers flock to the metropolis, the inhabitants exceed 300,000; but in ſummer, when they retire to the country, do not amount to 200,000.—Skizze von Moſkau."

more

more and more European; exhibiting a motley mixture of discordant architecture. It is distributed into five divisions: 1. Kremlin; 2. Khitaigorod; 3. Bielgorod: 4. Semlainogorod; 5. Sloboda, or suburbs.

1. The Kremlin was probably thus denominated by the Tartars when in possession of Moscow, from the word Krem, or Krim, which signifies a fortress. It stands in the central and highest part of the city, near the conflux of the Moskva and Neglina, which wash two of its sides, is of a triangular form, and about two miles in circumference. It is surrounded by high walls of stone and brick, which were constructed by Solario, a celebrated architect of Milan, in 1491, under the reign of Ivan Vassilievitch I. as appears from a curious inscription over one of the gates.

"Joannes Vasilii Dei Gracia Magnus Dux Volodimeriæ Moscoviæ Novogardie Tiferiæ Plescoviæ Veticie Ongarie Permiie Buolgarie et Aliar. Totius Q. Raxiæ Dominus Anno Tertio Imperii Sui Has Turres Condere Fet. Statuit Petrus Antonides Solarius Mediolanensis anno Nat. Dothini 1491. K. Julii."

The reader will doubtless be as much surprized as I was to find, that the Tzars employed foreign architects at so early a period, before their country was scarcely known to the rest of Europe. The Kremlin is not disfigured by wooden houses,

and

and contains the antient palace of the Tzars, ſeveral churches, two convents, the patriarchal palace, the arſenal now in ruins, and one private houſe, which belonged to Boris Godunof before he was raiſed to the throne*.

2. The ſecond diviſion is called Khitaigorod, a term conjectured by ſome etymologiſts to imply the Chineſe town. Voltaire, in his Hiſtory of Peter the Great, ſupports this opinion, when he calls Khitaigorod "*La partie appellée la ville Chinoiſe, où les raretés de la Chine s'ettallaient.*" But this diviſion of Moſcow bore that appellation long before any connection was opened between the Ruſſians and Chineſe; and the beſt hiſtorians ſuppoſe the word Cathay or Khitai to have been introduced by the Tartars when they had poſſeſſion of Moſcow†: in proof of this conjecture, it is alledged, that there is a town in the Ukraine called Khitaigorod, and another of the ſame name in Podolia; both which provinces, though unknown to the Chineſe, were either over-run or inhabited by Tartars.

The Khitaigorod‡ is incloſed on one ſide by

* See the next Chapter, where ſome of thoſe buildings are deſcribed. Since my viſit to Moſcow, many additional buildings have been conſtructed, particularly the ſenate houſe, a magnificent ſtructure, built by the empreſs.

† S. R. G. v. VIII. p. 538—541.

‡ Khitaigorod is ſaid to be of Tartar derivation, and to mean the *Middle Town*, from its ſituation between the Kremlin and Bielgorod.

that-

that wall of the Kremlin which runs from the Moſkva to the Neglina, and on the other by a brick wall of inferior height. It is much larger than the Kremlin, and contains the univerſity, the printing-houſe, and many other public buildings, together with all the tradeſmens ſhops. The edifices are moſtly ſtuccoed or white-waſhed; and it has the only ſtreet in Moſcow in which the houſes ſtand contiguous to each other without any intervals.

3. The Bielgorod, or White Town, which nearly encircles the two preceding diviſions, is ſuppoſed to derive its name from a white wall with which it was formerly enclоſed, and of which ſome remains ſtill exiſt.

4. Semlainogorod, which environs the three other quarters, takes its denomination from a circular rampart of earth with which it is encompaſſed. Theſe two diviſions exhibit a groteſque group of churches, convents, palaces, brick and wooden houſes, and mean hovels, in no degree ſuperior to peaſants' cottages.

5. The Sloboda, or Suburbs, form a vaſt exterior circle round the parts already deſcribed, and are inveſted with a low rampart and ditch. Theſe ſuburbs contain, beſides numerous buildings of all denominations, corn-fields, much open paſture, and ſome ſmall lakes, which give riſe to the Neglina.

The Moſkva flows through the city in a winding channel; but, excepting in ſpring, is only navigable for rafts: it receives the Yauſa in the the Semlainogorod, and the Neglina at the weſtern extremity of the Kremlin; both which rivulets are, in ſummer, almoſt dry.

The morning after our arrival, having ordered our Ruſſian ſervant to hire a carriage during our ſtay at Moſcow, he procured a coach with ſix horſes of different colours; the coachman and poſtillions were dreſſed like peaſants, with high cylindrical hats; the coachman with a long beard and ſheep-ſkin robe, ſat on the box; the poſtillions, in a coarſe drugget garb, were mounted upon the off horſes, according to the cuſtom of this country. Behind the carriage was an enormous ſack of hay: upon expreſſing ſurprize at this appendage, we were informed, that almoſt every carriage at Moſcow is provided with a viaticum of this ſort, which, while the maſter is paying his viſits, or is at dinner, is occaſionally given to the horſes. Some refreſhments of this kind, indeed, ſeemed neceſſary, as our horſes never ſaw the ſtable from the morning until the evening, or at midnight; and remained during that interval, like thoſe of our hackney-coaches, in the ſtreets. During our continuance in this city, we, not uncommonly, perceived about dinner-time, in the court-yards

of

of thoſe houſes where we dined, many horſes without bridles, and unharneſſed from the reſpective carriages, browſing upon their portable provender ſtrewed on the ground; with them were intermixed different parties of coachmen and poſtillions, who at the ſame time gratified the calls of hunger upon a repaſt ready prepared, like that of their cattle, and which too required as little ceremony in ſerving up. The frequency of theſe objects ſoon rendered them familiar, and we ceaſed to look upon our truſs of hay as an excreſcence.

The firſt viſit we made in our new equipage was to our banker, who lived at the furtheſt extremity of one of the ſuburbs, at the diſtance of four miles from our inn. Our coachman drove through the town with great expedition, generally in a briſk trot, and frequently a full gallop, without any diſtinction of paved or boarded ſtreets. Having ſettled our buſineſs with the banker, who was our countryman, and obligingly furniſhed us with a large collection of Engliſh news-papers, we croſſed the Yauſa over a raft bridge to a palace, conſtructed for the reception of the preſent empreſs, when ſhe viſits Moſcow; this palace is not, according to our ordinary acceptation of the word, a ſingle ſtructure; but, in the true ſtyle of Aſiatic grandeur, a vaſt aſſemblage of numerous buildings diſtributed

buted into ſeveral ſtreets, and bearing the appearance of a moderate town.* The baſe of each building is ſtone, but of ſo ſoft a nature, that it ſeemed ſcarcely adequate to ſupport the ſuperſtructure; the bricks uſed for the remainder of the fabric crumbled at the touch, nor did the workmanſhip exceed the materials, for the walls were in many places out of the perpendicular line.

The greater part of the timber, employed in the conſtruction of theſe vaſt edifices was faſhioned with the axe. Though I often ſaw the the carpenters at work, I never once perceived a ſaw in their hands: they cut the trees through with the axe, they hewed planks with the axe, they formed the beams, and fitted them together with the axe. With this ſimple engine they mortaiſed and tenanted the ſmalleſt as well as the largeſt pieces of wood, and ſmoothed the boards for the floor with the niceſt exactneſs. Indeed, the dexterity and juſtneſs with which they managed this inſtrument was wonderful; but the operation muſt evidently occaſion a prodigious waſte of labour and wood.

The gardens, which belonged to the old palace, built by Elizabeth near the ſpot where the preſent ſtructure was erecting, are ſtill retained; they are of conſiderable extent, and contained

* Paul converted this palace into barracks for 2000 men.

ſome of the beſt gravel walks I have ſeen ſince my departure from England. In ſome parts the grounds were laid out in a pleaſing and natural manner; but in general the old ſtyle of gardening prevailed, and preſented rows of clipped yew-trees, long ſtraight canals, and a profuſion of prepoſterous ſtatues. Hercules preſided at a fountain, with a retinue of gilded cupids, dolphins, and lamias; every little ſtructure was a pantheon; and every grove was haunted by Apollos and Dianas; but the principal deity in the place was a female figure holding a cornucopia reverſed, which, inſtead of diſtributing, as uſual, all kinds of fruit, grain, and flowers, poured out crowns, coronets, and mitres. The reign of theſe deities was, however, doomed to be ſhort: under the auſpices of Catharine, all theſe inſtances of groteſque taſte will be removed, and give place to more natural ornaments. This palace and gardens occupy the extremity of the ſuburbs, within the compaſs of the exterior rampart which encircles the whole town.

We ſoon ceaſed to be ſurprized that our carriage was provided with ſix horſes, as nothing was more common than to meet the equipages of the nobility with complete ſets, driving merely about the ſtreets of Moſcow. As the city is of ſo large a compaſs, many hackney

carriages are ſtationed in the ſtreets for conveying paſſengers to the different quarters. Theſe vehicles are without tops, have moſtly four wheels, and are provided either with a long bench, or one, two, or three ſeparate ſeats, like arm chairs, placed ſide-ways: their fares are ſo reaſonable, that ſervants occaſionally uſe them upon errands to diſtant parts of the city. The coachman generally drives at the rate of eight or nine miles an hour.

September 1. This morning we received a card of invitation from Count Oſterman, governor of Moſcow, to dinner for the 22d of Auguſt; but, as it was the 1ſt of September, our ſervant, who took the meſſage, came laughing into the room, and informed us, that we were invited to an entertainment that was paſt: he had endeavoured, he added, to convince the meſſenger of the miſtake; but the man inſiſted that the enſuing day was the 22d of Auguſt. It was indeed a natural miſtake in our ſervant, who did not know that the Ruſſians ſtill adhered to the old ſtyle, and as he had paſſed the 22d of Auguſt in Lithuania, it is no wonder that he was ſuprized at finding it again ſo ſoon at Moſcow.

Until the reign of Peter the Great the Ruſſians began their year in September, and dated

their æra from the creation of the world*, and not from the nativity of our Saviour. In 1700, Peter inſtituted a grand jubilee at Moſcow, and ordained, that from that period the year ſhould commence in January, and be computed from the Chriſtian æra, according to the ſtyle then in uſe in England. As a mark of veneration to his memory, no alteration has been made in the Ruſſian calendar; and Ruſſia is the only European nation which ſtill retains the old ſtyle.

The ſame morning we carried a letter of recommendation from count Stackelberg, the Ruſſian embaſſador at Warſaw, to prince Volkonſki, governor of the province, who received us with great cordiality, and invited us to dinner, deſiring us to conſider his table as ours during our continuance at Moſcow. The prince is in his 67th year, and recollects Peter the Great, whom he deſcribed as ſix feet in height, ſtrong and well made, with his head ſlouching and awry, of a dark complexion, and a countenance continually ſubject to diſtortions; adding, that he was generally dreſſed in his green uniform, or a plain brown coat; was remarkable for the fineneſs of his linen, wore his ſhort black hair

* They reckoned alſo, according to the opinion of the Greeks, 5508 years, inſtead of only 3369, from the creation to the nativity.

without

without powder, and whiſkers. The prince amuſed us with relating ſeveral anecdotes of that great monarch, and amongſt others, one which he received from prince Mentchikof.

After the battle of Pultava, while his father prince Volkonſki, was following Charles XII., with a corps of light horſe, an aid-de-camp brought an order from Mentchikof to halt: he obeyed, but diſpatched a meſſenger to acquaint the prince, that he was purſuing the king of Sweden with the faireſt proſpect of overtaking him. Mentchikof was greatly aſtoniſhed at this meſſage, as no orders for diſcontinuing the purſuit had iſſued from him, and his ſuppoſed aid-de-camp was never diſcovered. As Peter inſtituted no inquiry concerning the perſon who had probably prevented the capture of his moſt formidable rival, it is ſuſpected that the ſtratagem was contrived by himſelf, in order to avoid being embarraſſed with a priſoner, whom he would be unwilling either to releaſe, or detain long in captivity.

Nothing can exceed the hoſpitality of the Ruſſians. We never paid a morning viſit to any nobleman without being detained to dinner: we alſo conſtantly received general invitations; but, conſidering them as mere compliments, were unwilling to intrude ourſelves without further notice. We ſoon

found, however, that the principal perſons of diſtinction kept open tables, and were highly obliged by our reſorting to them without ceremony. Prince Volkonſki in particular, having caſually diſcovered that we had dined the preceding day at the inn, politely upbraided us; repeating his aſſurances, that his table was ours, and that when we were not engaged, he ſhould always expect us for his gueſts. Indeed the ſtrongeſt expreſſions can ſcarcely do juſtice to the attention and kindneſs of this excellent nobleman: not content with admitting us to his table without form, he was anxious that our curioſity ſhould be gratified with the ſight of every remarkable object at Moſcow; he ordered his aid-de-camp to accompany us to different parts of the city, and as we were extremely deſirous to become acquainted with Muller, the celebrated hiſtorian of this country, he invited him to meet us at dinner.

Muller ſpeaks and writes the German, Ruſſian, French, and Latin tongues with uncommon fluency; and reads the Engliſh, Dutch, Swediſh, Daniſh, and Greek with great facility. His memory is ſtill ſurprizing, and his accurate acquaintance with the minuteſt incidents of the Ruſſian annals almoſt ſurpaſſes belief.

At the concluſion of the dinner I had the pleaſure of accompanying this eminent hiſtorian to

to his houſe, and paſſed ſome hours in his library. He poſſeſſes moſt of the books in the different languages of modern Europe which treat of Ruſſia: the Engliſh writers upon this country are far more numerous than I imagined. His collection of ſtate-papers and manuſcripts is invaluable, and arranged in the exacteſt order.

Every lover of literature muſt regret, that Muller, who is admirably qualified for the taſk, and has already prepared the materials, has not favoured the public with a regular hiſtory of Ruſſia, and that on account of his advanced age, he muſt conſign to others the uſe of thoſe papers which he has ſo diligently accumulated. He will, however, always be conſidered as the great father of Ruſſian hiſtory, as well from the excellent ſpecimens he himſelf has produced, as from the vaſt fund of information which he bequeaths to future authors.

Gerard Frederic Muller was born in 1705, at Herforden, in the circle Weſtphalia. He received the early part of his education under his father, Thomas Muller, rector of the Gymnaſium; in the 17th year of his age was removed to the univerſity of Rinteln, and in the following year to Leipſic. Having greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf by rapid advances in various branches of polite literature, in the 20th year of his age, he was recommended to Peter the Great

as a proper perſon to be appointed member of the Imperial Academy of Sciences. He arrived at Peterſburgh in November 1725, after the demiſe of Peter; but was nominated by Catharine the Firſt, adjunct to the Imperial Academy. He read lectures in the Latin tongue on hiſtory and geography, and in 1730 was appointed Profeſſor of hiſtory, and member of the Imperial Academy. In the ſame year he began his travels into Germany, Holland, and England, and, during his reſidence in London, was choſen member of the Royal Society. Being deputed by the empreſs Anne to explore the extreme parts of Siberia, and the peninſula of Kamtchatka, he ſet out, on the 8th of Auguſt 1733, on this memorable expedition, in company with Steller, De Liſle, the elder Gmelin, and Kraſheninikof. The indefatigable traveller turned his principal attention to the hiſtory, geography, antiquities, manners, and cuſtoms of the various people and hordes of Siberia. He compiled or corrected maps of the diſtricts which he viſited, arranged the archives of the principal towns, and copied the moſt important documents.

The unremitting aſſiduity with which he continued his inquiries, brought on a nervous complaint, which prevented him from accompanying his fellow travellers; and compelled him to demand his recal. Having obtained the empreſs's

preſs's permiſſion to return, he ſaw his companions depart with regret; but aftewards, recovering his health, was impelled by literary zeal to continue his travels into the extreme parts of Siberia, notwithſtanding the fatigue of the journey, through an inhoſpitable country, and over almoſt impaſſable roads. He viſited Irkutſk, Okotſk, and even penetrated to Yakutſk, where he arrived in 1736. In examining the archives, he found the original account of the Ruſſian voyages in the Frozen Ocean, and in the ſea of Kamtchatka, and diſcovered that, in the laſt century, Deſhnef, a Ruſſian navigator, had taken his departure from the river Kovyma, ſailed along the Frozen Ocean, and doubled the north-eaſtern promontory of Aſia*; thus aſcertaining a point which had long agitated the literary world, that the continents of Aſia and America were ſeparated by the ſea. This important diſcovery occaſioned various attempts to explore the north-weſtern coaſt of America, and gave riſe to the expedition of captain Cook.

After an abſence of ten years Muller returned to St. Peterſburgh in the beginning of 1743; and was received by the empreſs Elizabeth with great marks of diſtinction. In 1747 he was appointed hiſtoriographer, and rector of the Imperial univerſity, received other promotions at St. Peterſ-

* See Account of the Ruſſian Diſcoveries between Aſia and America.

burgh,

burgh, and at length was appointed, by the preſent empreſs, conſellor of ſtate, and keeper of the archives at Moſcow *.

His principal work is a Collection of Ruſſian Hiſtories, in nine volumes, and contains many curious and intereſting articles: an account of the Ruſſian annals, drawn from the Byzantine writers, from the antient Sclavonian chronicles, and from Snorro Sturlenſis, an hiſtorian of Norway; various details of the Calmuc Tartars, and Zaporavian Coſſacs; the Commerce and Poſſeſſions of the Genoeſe on the Coaſts of the Black Sea, and at Azof; an account of the Ruſſian and Chineſe Settlements on the River Amoor; Hiſtory and Commerce of Siberia; Hiſtory of Ruſſia, from the Reign of Boris Godunof to the Acceſſion of Michael Feodoroviteh; Remarkable Things in Aſiatic Ruſſia, and in Turkey in Aſia; the Ruſſian Trade to China; Natural Hiſtory of the Diſtricts between the Don and Diepper; Account of Novogorod, Dorpart, Pernau, and Riga.

* The empreſs purchaſed his fine collection of books and manuſcripts for £.2,000. This great patroneſs of letters conſigned alſo to him the charge of arranging and printing, at her expence, a Collection of Ruſſian Treaties, in the form of Dumont's *Corps Diplomatique*; but the death of the learned hiſtorian prevented the completion. He did on the 16th of October 1783, in the 78th year of his age; Catharine, a ſhort time before his death, honored Mr. Muller with the order of St. Vladimir, and has teſtified her reſpect to his memory by enobling his family.

The

The third volume of this intereſting work contains an "Account of the Ruſſian Voyages and Diſcoveries along the Coaſts of the Frozen Sea, and in the Eaſtern Ocean towards Japan and America," from 1636 to the termination of Bering's and Tchirikof's expedition in 1742: to this publication I was greatly indebted for my account of the Ruſſian diſcoveries.

To theſe works the accurate and indefatigable writer ſucceſſively added many other valuable performances on ſimilar ſubjects, both in the German and Ruſſian languages, which elucidate the hiſtory and topography of this vaſt empire.

September 10. This day being ſacred to Alexander Nevſki, a ſaint highly revered by the Ruſſians, and in whoſe honour an order of knighthood was inſtituted by Peter the Great, was kept with great ſolemnity. Service was performed in the principal churches of Moſcow with all the pageantry peculiar to the Greek religion, and the governor of the province gave a ſplendid entertainment, to which the principal nobility and clergy were invited.

Alexander Nevſki, a name more reſpectable than moſt of the ſaints who fill the Ruſſian calendar, was ſon of the great duke Yaroſlaf, and flouriſhed in the beginning of the 13th century, at a period when his country was reduced to the

the utmoſt extremity by a combination of formidable enemies. He repulſed an army of Swedes and Teutonic knights, and wounded the king of Sweden with his own hand on the bank of the Neva, from whence he obtained the appellation of Nevſki. He defeated the Tartars in ſeveral engagements, and delivered his country from a diſgraceful tribute impoſed by the ſucceſſors of Zinghis Khan. His life ſeems to have been almoſt one continued ſcene of action; and he performed ſuch almoſt incredible acts of valour, as induced an ignorant and ſuperſtitious people to conſider him as a ſuperior being, and conſecrate his memory. He died about the year 1262, at Gorodetz, near Niſhnei Novogorod. The great ſuperiority of his character was evinced, as well by victories which diſtinguiſhed the Ruſſian arms during his life, as by the numerous defeats which immediately took place on his deceaſe.

The morning of this anniverſary was uſhered in by the ringing of bells uncommonly loud; in ceſſant peals reſounded in every quarter of the city, but more particularly in the Kremlin, which contains the principal churches and the largeſt bells. At eleven we paid our reſpects to prince Volkonſki, who, as governor of the province of Moſcow, had a levee: he wore the red ribband of the order of St. Alexander, and received

ceived the compliments of the principal nobility and gentry. From the levee we repaired to the cathedral of St. Michael, and were preſent at high maſs, performed by the archbiſhop of Roſtof. The church being filled with an immenſe concourſe of people, we could not, without the utmoſt difficulty, penetrate to the bottom of the ſteps leading to the ſhrine, from which the biſhop occaſionally came forth to addreſs the congregation. The confuſion ariſing from the croud, and the rapid ſucceſſion of various ceremonies, diſtracted our attention, and rendered us incapable of diſcriminating the different parts of the ſervice. We could only obſerve in general a great diſplay of pomp and ſplendour, and many ceremonies ſimilar to thoſe deſcribed on a former occaſion, with the addition of others appropriated to the greater feſtivals of the Ruſſian church.

At the concluſion of the ſervice, which laſted two hours, we returned to prince Volkonſki's; where ninety perſons were aſſembled at an entertainment given in honour of the day: when the archbiſhop of Roſtof entered the room, the prince met him at the door, and kiſſed his hand after the prelate had made the ſign of the croſs; he paid the ſame mark of reſpect to two other biſhops, and the greater part of the company ſucceſſively

ſucceſſively followed the prince's example. Being preſented to the archbiſhop, I held a long converſation with him in the Latin tongue, which he ſpoke with great fluency. He appeared to be ſenſible, well-informed, and verſed in various branches of literature: he had peruſed the works of ſeveral of our beſt divines, either originally written, or tranſlated into Latin, and mentioned their compoſitions with much approbation. I troubled him with ſeveral queſtions relative to the ſervice of the Ruſſian church, which he anſwered with great readineſs and condeſcenſion. The bible, he ſaid, is tranſlated into Sclavonian, the liturgy is written in that language, which is the mother-tongue of the Ruſſian, and therefore the ſtyle of the ſacred writings, though ſomewhat obſolete, is underſtood without much difficulty even by the common people.

The clergy, he informed me, are divided into ſecular and regular prieſts; the latter, from whom are choſen the dignitaries of the church, are not permitted to marry; the ſeculars are the pariſh-prieſts, and from a literal obſervation of St. Paul's precept, "the huſband of one "wife," are required, as a qualification for orders, to marry; and, in the ſpirit of the ſame tenet, are after the death of their wives deemed unfit

unfit for the ſacred function. The diſqualification ariſing from widowhood may, indeed, be healed by the biſhop's diſpenſation*; but a ſecond marriage irrecoverably divorces from the altar. The archbiſhop was politely continuing to acquaint me with many other circumſtances peculiar to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, when the converſation was interrupted by a ſummons to dinner. A ſmall table in the corner of the with-drawing room, according to the cuſtom in this country, was previouſly covered with plates of caviare, red-herring, bread, butter, and cheeſe, and different ſorts of *liqueurs*, to which the company helped themſelves before they adjourned to dinner.

About ninety perſons ſat down to a ſplendid entertainment. During the ſecond courſe, a large glaſs with a cover being brought to prince Volkonſki, he ſtood up, delivered the cover to the archbiſhop, who ſat next him, filled the glaſs with champagne, and drank the empreſs's health, which was accompanied with a diſcharge of cannon. The archbiſhop followed his example, and the glaſs was in like manner circulated round the table. The healths of the great-duke, of the great-ducheſs, and of their ſon prince Alexander, were then ſucceſſively toaſted with the ſame

* In general the ſecular prieſt, when a widower, is received into a monaſtery.

ceremonies;

ceremonies; after which count Panin aroſe, and drinking a return of thanks to the maſter of the feaſt, was joined by the whole company. When each toaſt was named by the prince, all the perſons at table roſe out of reſpect, and remained ſtanding while he drank.

During our ſtay at Moſcow we frequently experienced the hoſpitality of count Alexèy Orlof, who, in the laſt war with the Porte, commanded the Ruſſian fleet in the Archipelago, and burnt the Turkiſh armament in the bay of Tcheſme, for which action he was honoured with the title of Tcheſminſki. The cuſtom of conferring an additional name for the performance of ſignal ſervices to the country, was, in imitation of the Romans, uſually practiſed by Conſtantine and his ſucceſſors the Greek emperors, who reigned at Conſtantinople. From that quarter it probably paſſed to the Ruſſians, who in the earlier times of their hiſtory gave ſimilar appellations to ſome of their illuſtrious leaders. Thus the great-duke Alexander was called Nevſki for his victory over the Swedes near the Neva, and Demetrius Ivanovitch was denominated Donſki, for his conqueſt of the Tartars upon the banks of the Don. This cuſtom, which long diſcontinued, was revived by the preſent empreſs. Marſhal Romanzof received the denomination of Zadunaiſki, for his victories ſouth of the Danube; prince

prince Dolgorucki that of Crimſki for his ſucceſſes in the Crimea; and count Orlof this of Tcheſminſki, for the naval victory in the bay of Tcheſme.

The houſe of count Orlof is ſituated at the extremity of one of the ſuburbs, upon an elevated ſpot, commanding a fine view of the vaſt city of Moſcow and the neighbouring country; many ſeparate buildings occupy a large tract of ground. The offices, ſtables, manege, and other detached ſtructures, are of brick; the foundation and lower ſtory of the dwelling-houſe are built with the ſame material; but the upper part is of wood*, neatly painted of a green colour. We carried a letter of recommendation from prince Staniſlaus Poniatowſki, the king of Poland's nephew, to the count, who received us with great frankneſs, and detained us at dinner: he deſired us to lay aſide all form; adding, that he was a plain man, had a high eſteem for the Engliſh nation, and ſhould be happy to render us every ſervice in his power during our ſtay at Moſcow. We had the pleaſure of dining ſeveral times with him, and always met with the moſt polite reception. The count ſeemed to live

* Wooden houſes are by many perſons in this country ſuppoſed to be warmer and more wholeſome than thoſe of brick and ſtone, which is the reaſon why ſeveral of the Ruſſian nobility chuſe that part of the houſe, which they inhabit themſelves, to be conſtructed with wood.

in the true ſtyle of old Ruſſian hoſpitality, and kept an open table, abounding with a great variety of Greek wines, which he brought from the Archipelago. One diſh, ſerved on his plentiful board, was extremely delicious, and only inferior to our beſt veniſon; it was a quarter of an Aſtracan ſheep, remarkable for the quantity and flavour of the fat*.

There was muſic during dinner, which generally made a part of the entertainment at the tables of the nobility. We obſerved alſo another uſual inſtance of parade; numerous retainers and dependents were intermixed with the ſervants, but ſeldom aſſiſted in any menial office: they occaſionally ſtood round their lord's chair, and ſeemed greatly pleaſed whenever they were diſtinguiſhed by a nod or a ſmile. In this train was an Armenian, recently arrived from Mount Caucaſus, who, agreeably to the cuſtom of his country, inhabited a tent pitched in the garden, and covered with felt. His dreſs conſiſted of a long looſe robe tied with a ſaſh, large

* In the court-yard I obſerved ſeveral ſheep of this ſpecies ranging about the ſtables, ſo perfectly tame that they ſuffered us to ſtroke them. They are almoſt as large as fallow deer, but with much ſhorter legs: they have no horns, long flowing ears, and, inſtead of tails, a large bunch of fat, ſometimes weighing thirty pounds. Mr. Pennant has given an engraving of theſe ſheep in his Hiſtory of Quadrupeds, which he has accompanied with an accurate deſcription.

breeches,

breeches, and boots: his hair was cut, in the manner of the Tartars, in a circular form; his arms were a poignard, and a bow of buffalo's horn ſtrung with the ſinews of the ſame animal. He was extremely attached to his maſter; and when firſt preſented, voluntarily took an oath of fealty, and ſwore, in the true language of Eaſtern hyperbole, to attack all the count's enemies; offering, as a proof of ſincerity, to cut off his own ears; he alſo wiſhed that all the ſickneſs, which at any time threatened his maſter, might be transferred to himſelf. He examined our clothes, and ſeemed delighted with pointing out the ſuperiority of his own dreſs in the article of convenience; he threw himſelf into different attitudes with uncommon agility, and defied us to follow his example; he danced a Calmuc dance, which conſiſted in ſtraining every muſcle, and writhing the body into various contortions without ſtirring from the ſpot: he beckoned us into the garden, took great pleaſure in ſhowing us his tent and his arms; and ſhot ſeveral arrows to an extraordinary height. We were ſtruck with the unartificial character of this Armenian, who ſeemed like a wild-man juſt beginning to be civilized.

Count Orlof, who is fond of the manege, is eſteemed to poſſeſs, though not the largeſt, yet the fineſt ſtud in Ruſſia, and he was ſo obliging as

to gratify our curiosity by conveying us to his country-house, at the distance of fifteen miles from Moscow. He conveyed us in his own carriage drawn by six horses, harnessed with ropes, and placed two in front, and four a-breast in the hinder row; an empty coach, with six horses, ranged two by two, followed for parade. He was attended by four hussars, and the Armenian accoutred with his bow and quiver, who continually shouted and waved his hand with the strongest expressions of transport; he occasionally galloped his horse close to the carriage, then suddenly stopped and wheeled round to the right or left with great rapidity.

In our route we passed several large convents, surrounded, like many of the monasteries in this country, with walls of brick, bearing the appearance of small fortresses; we crossed the Moskva twice, and entered a circular plain of luxuriant pasture, in the midst of which rises an insulated hill, with the count's house on the top. This seat commands a beautiful view of a circular plain, watered by the Moskva, and skirted by gentle hills, whose sides present a rich variety of wood, corn, and pasture.

The greater part of the stud was grazing in the plain: it consisted of fine stallions, and above sixty brood-mares, most of which had foals. The collection was gleaned from the most distant quarters

quarters of the globe; from Arabia, Turkey, Tartary, Perſia, and England. The count obtained the Arabians during his expedition in the Archipelago, ſome as preſents from Ali-Bey, others by purchaſe or conqueſt from the Turks: amongſt theſe he chiefly prized four horſes (two of which we had noticed in the manege at Moſcow) of the true *Cochlean* breed, ſo much eſteemed in Arabia, and ſeldom ſeen out of their native country.

The count, after politely attending us to the ſtud and about the grounds, regaled us with a moſt elegant entertainment, at which his vivacity lent charms to his ſplendour and hoſpitality. On our return to Moſcow, we made a circuit to a ſmall village ſix miles from the capital, where a villa was erecting for the empreſs, called Tzaricino, conſiſting, beſides the principal building, of eight or ten detached ſtructures in the Gothic taſte, which were prettily diſperſed among the plantations. The ſituation is romantic, a riſing ground backed with wood, and a large piece of water embracing the foot of the hill.

I cannot forbear to mention in this place an act of almoſt Eaſtern magnificence, which this viſit afterwards occaſioned. One morning in the enſuing winter, at Peterſburgh, one of the fineſt among the Arabian horſes, which Lord

Herbert had greatly admired, was ſent to him, accompanied with the following note.

"My Lord, I obſerved that this horſe pleaſed you, and therefore deſire your acceptance of him. I received him as a preſent from Ali-Bey. He is a true Arabian of the Cochlean race, and in the late war was brought by the Ruſſian ſhips from Arabia to me while I was in the Archipelago. I wiſh he may be as ſerviceable to you as he has been to me; and I remain, with eſteem, your obedient ſervant,

"Count ALEXEY ORLOF TCHESMINSKI."

At the cloſe of an entertainment, which the count gave us at Moſcow, he introduced us to the ſight of a Ruſſian boxing-match, which is a favourite diverſion among the common people. We repaired to the manege, where we found about three hundred peaſants aſſembled. They divided into two parties, each of which choſe a chief, who called out the combatants, and pitted them againſt each other; only a ſingle pair was allowed to engage at the ſame time. They did not ſtrip, and had on thick leathern gloves with thumb pieces, but with no ſeparations for the fingers. From the ſtiffneſs of the leather they could ſcarcely double their fiſts, and many of them ſtruck open-handed. Their attitudes were different from thoſe uſed by boxers in England:

they advanced the left foot and ſide, ſtretched the left arm towards the adverſary to repel his blows, and kept the right arm ſwinging at ſome diſtance from the other. They generally ſtruck in a circular direction at the face and head, never attacked the breaſt or ſides, and ſeemed to have no notion of aiming a blow directly forwards. When any combatant felled his antagoniſt he was declared victor, and the conteſt ceaſed. During our ſtay we witneſſed about twenty ſucceſſive combats. Some of the men were of vaſt ſtrength; but their mode of fighting prevented miſchief; nor did we perceive any of thoſe contuſions and fractures in which boxing-matches in England frequently terminate. Both parties were highly intereſted in favour of their reſpective champions, and ſeemed at times inclined to enter the liſts in their ſupport; but the firſt appearance of diſpute, or growing heat, was checked by the count, who acted as mediator: a kind word, or even a nod from him, inſtantly compoſed all differences. When he appeared deſirous to put an end to the combats, they humbly requeſted his permiſſion to honour them with his preſence a little longer; upon his aſſent, they bowed their heads to the ground, and ſeemed as pleaſed as if they had received the higheſt favour. The count is greatly beloved by his peaſants,

ſaints, and their ſtern countenances melted into the moſt affectionate ſoftneſs at his approach.

We made an agreeable excurſion to Mikaulka, the villa of count Peter Panin, a Ruſſian nobleman of the firſt diſtinction, who ſignalized himſelf in the late war againſt the Turks, by the capture of Bender, and more recently by the defeat of the rebel Pugatchef. The villa is ſituated at the diſtance of ſix miles from Moſcow, in the midſt of a large foreſt. The count originally purpoſed to raiſe a grand edifice of brick, after a deſign of his late wife; but on her death abandoned this project, and contented himſelf with a comfortable wooden houſe at the extremity of his grounds, which he firſt erected only as a temporary habitation. His offices, ſtables, coach-houſes, dog-kennels, lodgings for huntſmen and other menial ſervants, form two long rows of detached wooden buildings, all with uniform fronts neatly painted. The grounds are agreeably laid out in the ſtyle of Engliſh parks, with gentle ſlopes, ſpacious lawns of the fineſt verdure, ſcattered plantations, and a large piece of water fringed with wood.

We could not avoid feeling extreme ſatisfaction at obſerving that the Engliſh ſtyle of gardening had penetrated even into theſe diſtant regions. The Engliſh taſte, indeed, can diſplay itſelf

itſelf in this country to great advantage, where the parks are extenſive, and the verdure, during the ſhort ſummer, uncommonly beautiful. Moſt of the Ruſſian nobles have gardeners of our nation, and reſign themſelves implicitly to their direction. The count, who is fond of country diverſions, had a pack of hounds chiefly of the Engliſh breed, conſiſting of an indiſcriminate mixture of harriers, ſtag, and fox-hounds, ſelected without regard to ſize or ſpecies. With this ſame pack he hunted wolves, deer, foxes, and hares. He poſſeſſed likewiſe a fine breed of Ruſſian greyhounds, in high eſtimation for their ſwiftneſs: they are ſhaggy and wire-haired, and ſome are taller than the largeſt breed of Newfoundland dogs.

The count entertained us with a moſt ſumptuous dinner: we were particularly ſtruck with the quantity and quality of the fruit in the deſert: pines, peaches, apricots, grapes, pears, cherries, which can rarely in this country be obtained without the aſſiſtance of hot-houſes, were ſerved in the greateſt profuſion*. There was a

* Since my departure from Ruſſia, horticulture has been conſiderably improved. According to Richter, in his Sketch of Moſcow, pines are reared in great abundance in the hot-houſes about Moſcow, and may be purchaſed for a ruble apiece. I am alſo informed, by an ingenious Dutch gentleman, lately arrived from Ruſſia, that in the country houſe of Prince Gallitzin, he ſaw grapes nearly ripe in the open air.

delicious

delicious ſpecies of ſmall melon, which was ſent by land carriage from Aſtracan to Moſcow, though at the diſtance of a thouſand miles*. One inſtance of elegance which diſtinguiſhed the deſert, and had a pleaſing effect, muſt not be omitted: at the upper and lower end of the table were placed two china vaſes containing cherry-trees in full leaf, and fruit hanging on the boughs, which was gathered by the company. We obſerved alſo in the deſert a curious ſpecies of apple, which is not uncommon in the neighbourhood of Moſcow: it is ſomewhat larger than a golden-pippen, of the colour and tranſparency of pale amber, and has an exquiſite flavour; the Ruſſians call it *Navluàch*. The tree thrives in the open air without particular attention to culture, but degenerates in other countries; the ſlips and ſeed, planted in a foreign ſoil, have hitherto produced only a common ſort of apple, but never the tranſparent ſpecies.

In returning from Mikaulka we paſſed cloſe to the villa of count Razomouſki Hetman of the Ukraine, which had more the reſemblance of a little town than a country houſe. It conſiſted of forty or fifty buildings of different ſizes; ſome of brick, others of wood; ſome painted, and

* Theſe melons ſometimes coſt five pounds apiece, and at other times they may be purchaſed in the markets of Moſcow for leſs than half a crown apiece.

others

others plain. The count maintains his guard, a numerous train of retainers, and a large band of muſicians. The Ruſſian nobles diſplay a great degree of grandeur and magnificence in their houſes, domeſtics, and way of living. Their palaces at and near Moſcow are ſtupendous piles of building, and I am informed that their manſions, at a diſtance from Moſcow and Peterſburgh, are upon a ſtill grander ſcale; where they reſide as independent princes, like the feudal barons in early times, have their ſeparate courts of juſtice, and govern their vaſſals with almoſt unlimited ſway.

I did not expect to find in this northern climate a kind of Vauxhall. It is ſituated at the furtheſt extremity of the ſuburbs in a ſequeſtered ſpot, which has more the appearance of the country than of a town. We entered by a covered way into the gardens, which were ſplendidly illuminated. There was an elegant rotunda for a promenade, either in cold or rainy weather, and ſeveral apartments for tea or ſupper. The entrance money was four ſhillings. The proprietor is an Engliſhman, whoſe name is Mattocks. The encouragement he met with from the natives on this occaſion enabled him to engage in conſtructing, at a great expence, a brick theatre, and, as an indemnification, he obtained from the empreſs an excluſive patent for all

all plays and public maſquerades, during ten years from the time of its completion.

The fineſt view of Moſcow is from an eminence about four or five miles from the town, of which I have forgotten the Ruſſian name, but its ſignification in Engliſh is Sparrow-hill: upon this eminence were the ruins of a large palace built by Alexey Michaelovitch. Upon our return we ſtopped at Vaſilioſſki, the villa of prince Dolgorucki, which ſtands upon the brow of the ſame hill. Beneath the Moſkwa, which is here broader than uſual, expands into a ſemicircle, at ſome diſtance; and the vaſt city of Moſcow makes a ſuperb and magnificent appearance: the houſe is a large wooden building, to which we aſcended by three terraſſes. The preſent poſſeſſor is prince Dolgorucki Crimſki, who diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his victories over the Turks in the Crimea, and by the conqueſt of that peninſula. The models of ſeveral fortreſſes which he beſieged and took, are placed in the gardens, among which I particularly remarked thoſe of Yenikale, Kerſch, and Precop.

In traverſing the apartments, the various reverſes of fortune which befell the family of Dolgorucki, occurred forcibly to my recollection; eſpecially when I ſurveyed the portrait of the princeſs Catharine Dolgorucki, whoſe adventures, ſo pathetically deſcribed by Mrs. Vigor,

gor*, afford one of the moſt affecting ſtories in the annals of hiſtory. That unfortunate princeſs, torn from the perſon ſhe loved, was betrothed againſt her inclination to the emperor Peter II. On his deceaſe ſhe became a momentary ſovereign; but was almoſt as inſtantly hurried from the palace to a dungeon, where ſhe languiſhed during the whole reign of the empreſs Anne. Being releaſed upon the acceſſion of Elizabeth, ſhe married count Bruce, and died without iſſue.

* Letters from Ruſſia by a Lady.

CHAP. 3.

Number of churches in Moſcow.—Their outward ſtructure.—Interior diviſions.—Worſhip of painted images.—Deſcription of an enormous bell.—Principal buildings in the Kremlin.—Antient palace.—Convent of Tſchudof.—Nunnery of Vieſnovitſkoi.—Cathedral of St. Michael.—Tombs and characters of the Tzars.—Genealogical tables of the Ruſſian ſovereigns.

THE places of divine worſhip at Moſcow are exceedingly numerous, and excluſive of chapels, there are 484* public churches, of which 199 are of brick, and the others of wood; the former are commonly ſtuccoed or white-waſhed, the latter painted of a red colour.

The moſt antient churches are generally ſquare buildings, with a cupola and four ſmall domes†, ſome of copper or iron gilt, others of iron tinned, either plain or painted green. Theſe cupolas and domes are for the moſt part ornamented with croſſes entwined with thin chains or wires:

* According to Heym, in 1793, Moſcow contained 22 convents, 9 cathedrals, and 326 churches.

† The church of the Holy Trinity, ſometimes called the Church of Jeruſalem, which ſtands in the Khitaigorod, cloſe to the gate leading into the Kremlin, has a kind of high ſteeple and nine or ten domes: it was built in the reign of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. An engraving of that, as well as ſome of the more antient churches, may be ſeen in Olearius and Le Brun's Travels.

each

each croſs has two tranſverſe bars*, the upper horizontal, the lower inclining, which, according to the opinion of many Ruſſians, is ſuppoſed to be the form of the real croſs, and that our Saviour was nailed to it with his arms in a horizontal poſition, and one of the legs higher than the other. I frequently obſerved a creſcent under the lower bar, the meaning of which no one could explain†.

The inſide of the church is moſtly compoſed of three parts; that called by the Greeks τρουλος, by the Ruſſians Trapeza; the body; and the ſanctuary or ſhrine.

In the body of the church are frequently four ſquare and maſſive piers, which ſupport the cupola: theſe piers, as well as the walls and cielings, are painted with numerous repreſentations of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and different ſaints. Many of the figures are enormouſly

* I am here deſcribing the moſt antient churches; the modern croſſes over thoſe of St. Peterſburgh are moſtly ſingle.

† Dr. King ingeniouſly accounts for the creſcent. "Some churches have a creſcent under the croſs; for when the Tartars, to whom Muſcovy was ſubjected two hundred years, converted any of the churches into moſques for the uſe of their own religion, they fixed the creſcent, the badge of Mahometaniſm, upon them: and when the grand-duke Ivan Baſilovitch had delivered his country from the Tartar yoke, and reſtored thoſe edifices to the Chriſtian worſhip, he left the creſcent remaining, and planted a croſs upon it as a mark of its victory over its enemy." Rites and Ceremonies of the Greek Church, p. 23.

large,

large, and executed in the rudeſt manner; ſome are daubed upon the bare walls; others upon large maſſive plates of ſilver or braſs, or encloſed in frames of thoſe metals. The head of each figure is invariably decked with a glory, which is a maſſy ſemicircle, reſembling an horſe-ſhoe, of braſs, ſilver, or gold, and ſometimes compoſed almoſt entirely of pearls and precious ſtones. Some of the favourite ſaints are adorned with ſilken drapery faſtened to the walls, and ſtudded with jewels; ſome are painted upon a gold ground, and others are wholly gilded but the face and hands. Towards the extremity of the body of the church is a flight of ſteps leading to the ſhrine; and between theſe ſteps and the ſhrine is uſually a platform, upon which the officiating miniſter ſtands and performs part of the ſervice.

The ſhrine or ſanctuary is divided from the body of the church by the *Inconoſtas*, or ſkreen, generally the part the moſt richly ornamented, and on which the moſt holy pictures are painted or hung*. In its centre are the folding, called the holy, royal, or beautiful doors, which lead to

* "On the north ſide of the royal doors the picture of the Virgin is always placed, and that of Jeſus on the ſouth; next to which is that of the ſaint to whom the church is dedicated; the ſituation of the reſt is indifferent. Candles or lamps are uſually ſuſpended before the images of Jeſus and the Virgin, and ſeveral others, and ſometimes kept perpetually burning." Dr. King on the Greek church, p. 29; to which book I would refer the reader.

the

the ſhrine, within which is the holy table, as Dr. King well deſcribes it, "with four ſmall co-
" lumns to ſupport a canopy over it: from
" which a *periſterion*, or dove, is ſuſpended, as
" a ſymbol of the Holy Ghoſt; upon the holy
" table the croſs is always laid, and the Goſpel,
" and the pyxis, or box, in which a part of the
" conſecrated elements is preſerved, for viſiting
" the ſick or other purpoſes*."

It is contrary to the tenets of the Greek religion to admit a carved image within the churches, in conformity to the prohibition in Scripture, "Thou ſhalt not make to thyſelf a " *graven* image," &c. By not conſidering, the prohibition as extending to repreſentations by painting, the Greek canoniſts, while they follow the letter, depart from the ſpirit of the commandment, which poſitively forbids us to worſhip the likeneſs of any thing under whatever form, or in whatever manner it may be delineated.

Over the door of each church is the portrait of the patron ſaint, to which the common people pay homage as they paſs, by taking off their hats, croſſing themſelves, and occaſionally touching the ground with their heads; a ceremony which I often ſaw them repeat nine or ten times in ſucceſſion.

* King on the Greek church, p. 26.

Before I close the general description of the Ruſſian churches, I muſt not forget their bells, which form, I may almoſt ſay, no inconſiderable part of divine worſhip; as the length or ſhortneſs of their appeals aſcertains the greater or leſſer ſanctity of the day. They are hung in belfreys detached from the church, and do not ſwing like our bells, but are fixed immoveably to the beams; are rung by a rope tied to the clapper, and pulled ſideways. Some of theſe bells are of a ſtupendous ſize: one in the belfrey of St. Ivan's church weighs 3551 Ruſſian poods, or 127,836 Engliſh pounds. It has always been eſteemed a meritorious act of religion to preſent a church with bells, and the piety of the donor has been meaſured by their magnitude. According to this mode of eſtimation, Boris Godunof, who gave a bell of 288,000 pounds to the cathedral of Moſcow, was the moſt pious ſovereign of Ruſſia, until he was ſurpaſſed by the empreſs Anne, at whoſe expence a bell was caſt, weighing 432,000 pounds, which exceeds in bigneſs every bell in the known world. The ſize is ſo enormous, that I could ſcarcely have credited the account of its magnitude had I not myſelf aſcertained the dimenſions. The height is nineteen feet, circumference at the bottom ſixty-three feet eleven inches, greateſt thickneſs twenty-

twenty-three inches*. The beam to which this vaſt machine was faſtened, being accidentally burnt, the bell fell down, and a fragment was broken off towards the bottom, which left an aperture large enough to admit two perſons abreaſt without ſtooping.

Our inn being cloſe to the walls of Kremlin, I had frequent opportunities of examining the principal buildings.

The palace, inhabited by the antient tzars, ſtands at the extremity of the Kremlin. Part of this palace is old, and continues in the ſame ſtate in which it was built under Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. The remainder has been ſucceſſively added at different intervals without any plan, and in various ſtyles of architecture, which has produced a motley pile of building, remarkable for its incongruity. The top is thickly ſet with numerous little gilded ſpires and globes; and a large portion of the front is decorated with the arms of all the provinces which compoſe the Ruſſian empire. The apartments are in general exceedingly ſmall, excepting one ſingle room, called the council-chamber, in which the antient tzars uſed to give audience to foreign embaſſadors, and which has been repeatedly deſcribed by ſeveral Engliſh travellers, who viſited Moſcow before the Imperial reſidence was tranſ-

* Mr. Hanway, in his Travels, has given an accurate deſcription and engraving of this bell.

ferred to Peterſburgh. The room is large and vaulted, and has in the centre an enormous pillar of ſtone, which ſupports the cieling*.

This palace, in which the tzars formerly held their courts in all the ſplendour of Eaſtern pomp, was once eſteemed by the natives an edifice of unparalleled magnificence: ſince the modern improvements in architecture, it is far ſurpaſſed by the ordinary manſions of the nobility, and by no means calculated even for the temporary reſidence of the ſovereign†.

In this palace Peter the Great was born in 1672; an event here mentioned, not only becauſe it is remarkable in the annals of this country; but becauſe the Ruſſians themſelves were, till lately, unacquainted with the birth-place of their favourite hero. That honour was uſually aſcribed to Columna, which, on that ſuppoſition, has been profanely ſtyled the Bethlehem of Ruſſia; but the judicious Muller has unqueſtionably proved, that the Imperial palace of Moſcow was the place of Peter's nativity‡. I was greatly diſappointed that we could not view

* "The roof of the audience-chamber was arched and ſupported by a great pillar in the middle." Lord Carliſle's Embaſſy, p. 149. In the feaſt which Alexèy Michaelovitch gave to the Earl of Carliſle, this great pillar was adorned with a wonderful variety of gold and ſilver veſſels, p. 292.

† The emperor Paul ordered this venerable ſeat of the Ruſſian monarchs to be reſtored and fitted up as a manſion for himſelf and his family.

‡ See Journ. St. Pet.

that

that part of the palace called the treaſury. The keeper being lately dead, the door was ſealed up, and could not be opened until a ſucceſſor was appointed. Beſide the crown, jewels, and royal robes, uſed at the coronation of the ſovereign, this repoſitory contains ſeveral curioſities which relate to and illuſtrate the hiſtory of this country.

There are two convents in the Kremlin; one a nunnery, and the other a monaſtery for men, called Tchudof. It is well known in the Ruſſian hiſtory as the place in which the tzar Vaſſili Shuiſki was confined (1610) after his depoſition, and from whence he was conveyed into Poland; where he only exchanged one priſon for another ſtill more diſmal, and fell a victim to his own diſappointment and chagrin, as well as to the ill-treatment of the Poles. We are naturally led to compaſſionate the fate of a depoſed monarch, who dragged on a miſerable exiſtence amidſt the horrors of perpetual impriſonment; but the black ingratitude of Vaſſili Shuiſki towards Demetrius, his ſovereign and benefactor, almoſt extinguiſhes our ſenſe of his calamities. For even if the perſon who aſſumed the name of Demetrius was an impoſtor, Shuiſki, when condemned for high-treaſon to an ignominious death, was indebted to him for his pardon; an act of clemency ill requited by the depoſition and murder of his benefactor*.

* See Chap. 7.

The nunnery, called Vieſnovitſkoi, was founded in 1393 by Eudoxia, wife of the great-duke Dmitri Ivanovitch Donſki, who was canoniſed and interred under the altar. The abbeſs politely accompanied us over the convent, and pointed out every object worthy of attention. She firſt conducted us to the principal chapel, which contains the tombs of ſeveral tzarinas and princeſſes of the Imperial family. The tombs reſemble ſtone-coffins laid on the floor, and ranged in rows: ſome were incloſed with braſs, and others with iron balluſtrades, but the greater number had no diſtinction of this ſort. Each ſepulchre was covered with a pall of crimſon or black velvet, ornamented with an embroidered croſs, and edged with a border of gold and ſilver lace; over theſe, on great feſtivals, are laid other coverings of gold and ſilver tiſſue, richly ſtudded with pearls and precious ſtones. The abbeſs obligingly preſented me with a MS. Ruſſian account of the princeſſes interred in the church. Having examined theſe repoſitories of the dead, and ſurveyed the rich veſtments of the prieſts, and the figures of various ſaints painted on the walls, the abbeſs invited us to her apartment. She led the way, and at the top of the ſtairs, as we entered the anti-chamber, ſtruck the floor two or three blows with her ivory-handled cane; when a chorus of twenty nuns received us with

with hymns, which they continued ſinging as long as we ſtaid; the melody was not unpleaſing. In an adjoining room tea was ſerved to the company, and a table was plentifully ſpread with pickled herrings, ſlices of ſalt fiſh, cheeſe, bread, butter, and cakes; champagne and *liqueurs* were preſented by the abbeſs herſelf. After partaking of theſe refreſhments, we attended the abbeſs through the apartments of the nuns, many of whom were employed in embroidering ſacerdotal habits for the archbiſhop of Moſcow, and then took our leave.

The nuns wore a long robe of black ſtuff, black veils, black forehead-cloth, and black wrappers under the chin; the abbeſs was diſtinguiſhed by a robe of black ſilk. Meat is prohibited, and the nuns live chiefly upon fiſh, eggs, and vegetables. In other reſpects the order is not rigid, and they are allowed to pay occaſional viſits in the town.

I have already had occaſion to mention the great number of churches contained in this city. The Kremlin is not without its ſhare; in a ſmall compaſs I counted eight almoſt contiguous to each other. Two of theſe churches, St. Michael's, and the Aſſumption of the Virgin Mary, are remarkable; the one being the place where the ſovereigns were formerly interred, and the other where they are crowned. Theſe edi-

fices are both in the ſame ſtyle of architecture; and were probably conſtructed by Solario of Milan, who built the walls of the Kremlin. Though the architect was obliged to conform his plan to the ſtyle of eccleſiaſtical buildings which prevailed in Ruſſia; yet their exterior form is not inelegant, although it is an oblong ſquare, and too high in proportion to the breadth.

In the cathedral of St. Michael I viewed the tombs of the Ruſſian ſovereigns. The bodies are not, as with us, depoſited in vaults, or beneath the pavement, but are entombed in raiſed ſepulchres, moſtly of brick, in the ſhape of a coffin, and about two feet in height. When I viſited the cathedral, the moſt antient were covered with palls of red cloth, others of red velvet, and that of Peter II. with gold tiſſue*, bordered with ſilver fringe and ermine. Each tomb has at its lower extremity a ſmall ſilver plate, bearing the name of the deceaſed ſovereign, with the æra of his death.

From the time that Moſcow became the Imperial reſidence to the cloſe of the ſixteenth century, all the tzars have been interred in this cathedral; excepting Boris Godunof, whoſe remains are depoſited in the convent of the Holy Trinity†; the tzar, under the name of Deme-

* On great feſtivals all the ſepulchres are covered with rich palls of gold or ſilver brocade, ſtudded with pearls and jewels.

† See Chap. 6.

trius,

trius*, who was deſtroyed in a tumult, and Vaſſili Shuiſki, who died in captivity at Warſaw.

The tomb of Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. juſtly eſteemed the founder of Ruſſian greatneſs, claimed my principal attention. At his acceſſion to the throne, in 1462, Ruſſia formed a collection of petty principalities engaged in perpetual wars with each other, ſome nominally ſubject to the great-duke of Moſcow, and all, with that monarch himſelf, tributary to the Tartars†. Ivan, in the courſe of a long and proſperous reign, gave a new aſpect to the Ruſſian affairs: he annexed to his dominions the duchies of Tver and other neighbouring principalities, ſubdued Novogorod, and, what was ſtill more glorious and beneficial, he reſcued this country from the Tartar yoke, and refuſed the payment of the ignominious tribute exacted from his predeceſſors. He had no ſooner delivered Ruſſia from this dependence, than his alliance was courted by many

* See Chap. 7.

† The ſervitude of the great-duke will appear from a paſſage in Cromer, the Poliſh hiſtorian. "Whenever the Tartar embaſſadors were ſent to Moſcow in order to collect the accuſtomed tribute, the great-duke uſed to meet them, and offer, as a mark of his reſpect, a cup of mare's milk; and if a drop chanced to fall upon the mane of the horſe on which the Tartar embaſſador was ſitting, he would himſelf lick it up. When they reached the hall of audience, the embaſſadors read the khan's letter, ſeated upon a carpet of the choiceſt furs, while the great-duke with his nobles knelt, and liſtened in reſpectful ſilence." Cromer, L. 29. p. 647.

European

European ſovereigns; and during his reign Moſcow ſaw, for the firſt time, embaſſadors from the emperor of Germany, the pope, the grand-ſignor, the kings of Poland and Denmark, and the republic of Venice.

The talents of this able monarch were not confined to military atchievements: Ruſſia was indebted to him for the improvement of her commerce, and for opening a more ready communication with the European nations. Under his auſpices, the knowledge of gunpowder and the art of caſting cannon were firſt brought into Ruſſia by Ariſtotle of Bologna*. He employed the ſame artiſt†, as well as other foreigners, to recoin the Ruſſian money, hitherto disfigured by Tartar inſcriptions; he engaged, at a vaſt expence, Italian artiſts to encloſe the Kremlins of Moſcow and Novogorod with walls of brick, and to erect ſeveral churches and other public ſtructures with the ſame materials‡. For his various civil and military ſervices he deſervedly acquired the name of *Great*. Ivan is deſcribed as a perſon of gigantic ſtature, and ferocious aſpect. His manners and deportment, ſtrongly infected with the barbariſm of his age and country, were ſome-

* Bachmeiſter's Eſſai ſur la Bib. de Peterſ. p. 28.

† Poſſevinus.

‡ A vaſt effort in thoſe barbarous times, and which deſerves to be mentioned, becauſe at his acceſſion to the throne almoſt all the buildings of Moſcow were of wood.

 what

what ſoftened and poliſhed by the example of his ſecond wife Sophia*; a Grecian princeſs of conſummate beauty and winning addreſs, who to all the ſofter graces of her ſex added a manly ſpirit; and who, while ſhe infuſed into her huſband a taſte for the arts of peace, animated him to thoſe glorious enterprizes which tended to the aggrandizement of his country.

Ivan the Great died in 1505, in the 67th year of his age: on each ſide of his remains are depoſited thoſe of his father Vaſili Vaſſilievitch, ſurnamed The Blind†; and of his ſon Vaſſili Ivanovitch, who ſucceeded him in the throne, and expired in 1533.

In a ſmall chapel adjoining to theſe tombs, is

* Sophia was daughter of Thomas Palæologus, brother of Conſtantine the laſt Grecian emperor, who loſt his life when Conſtantinople was taken by the Turks in 1453. Soon after that event Sophia repaired to Rome with her father, where they lived under the protection of the pope, who is ſaid to have negotiated her marriage with the great-duke, and even to have beſtowed her portion, in hopes of procuring, through her influence, great advantages to the Roman catholic religion in Ruſſia. But theſe hopes were fruſtrated; for Sophia, on her marriage, in 1482, embraced the Greek religion. She encouraged her huſband in ſhaking off the Tartar yoke, and probably aſſiſted him in procuring the ableſt architects from Italy. See Herberſtein, in Rer. Moſ. Comm. p. 7. alſo Pau. Jovii De Leg. Moſ.—Ibid. p. 129.

† He received the appellation of The Blind, becauſe his eyes had been put out by order of his uncle, who, having formerly depoſed him, practiſed this cruel expedient to diſqualify him from re-aſcending the throne. He was afterwards, however, reinſtated in the ſovereignty by the affection of his ſubjects.

the

the ſepulchre of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.* ſon and ſucceſſor of Vaſſili Ivanovitch. This ſovereign is branded by many writers with the name of *tyrant*, and repreſented as the moſt odious monſter that ever diſgraced human nature. In delineating, however, his general character, they are ſometimes guilty of falſehood †, and often of exaggeration, and ſeem totally to forget many great qualities which he certainly poſſeſſed. Though we ſhould not give implicit credit to many idle reports of his ſavageneſs and inhumanity; yet it would be equally abſurd, and contrary to hiſtory evidence, to deny or attempt to

* Called, by the Engliſh writers, John Baſilovitz.

† Thus ſome writers aſſert, that when he walked out, or made a progreſs through his dominions, if he met any one whoſe mien diſpleaſed him, he would command his head to be ſtruck off, or do it himſelf. Others as abſurdly relate, that he would order bears to be let looſe upon a crowd of people aſſembled in the ſtreets of Moſcow, and diverted himſelf with the cries and agonies of the perſons devoured by thoſe ferocious animals. Olearius informs us, that Ivan wantonly commanded the eyes of the architect, who built the church of the Holy Trinity at Moſcow, to be put out, that he might never conſtruct any building of ſuperior beauty. Theſe incredible tales confute themſelves; but the following charge we are able to contradict from our own hiſtory. Ivan is ſaid to have ordered the hat of the Engliſh embaſſador, Sir Jerome Bowes, to be nailed to his head, becauſe he refuſed to take it off in his preſence. This report was occaſioned by the exaggerated account of a miſunderſtanding between the tzar and Sir Jerome Bowes, which is related in the embaſſador's diſpatches. Hackluyt's Collection of Voyages, v. I. p. 460, &c.

apologiſe

apologiſe for many cruelties * actually committed by this monarch, who, like Peter the Great, did not reckon clemency among the number of his virtues.

But while we regard the ferocity of his temper with abhorrence, we cannot refuſe the tribute of admiration to his political character. He raiſed the ſuperſtructure of the Ruſſian grandeur, of which his grandfather laid the foundation. Inſtead of a deſultory militia, collected in haſte, and always impatient to diſband, he inſtituted a ſtanding army; he aboliſhed the uſe of the bow, hitherto the principal weapon among the Ruſſians; he trained them to fire-arms, and introduced a more regular diſcipline. By means of this formidable body, he extended his dominions on all ſides, conquered the kingdoms of Caſan and Aſtracan, and rendered the Ruſſian name reſpectable to the diſtant powers of Europe. He gave to his ſubjects the firſt code of written laws; he invited foreign artiſts † to Moſcow, introduced printing into Ruſſia, promoted commerce,

* Inſtances of which the reader will find in the 6th Chap. of this Book, and the 2d of Book 4.

† Above three hundred artiſts of all profeſſions, namely, painters, ſculptors, architects, watch-makers, bell-founders, miners, armourers, ſtationers, maſons, &c. have already arrived at Lubec in their way to Moſcow, but were prevented from proceeding by the intrigues of the inhabitants of Lubec, and the natives of Livonia. See Bachmeiſter's Eſſai ſur la Bib. &c. p. 32.

and

and regulated the duties of export and import; he permitted Engliſh merchants to eſtabliſh factories within his dominions, and, with a liberality not always practiſed by more enlightened ſovereigns, granted to them the free exerciſe of their religion; he had even formed the deſign, which death alone prevented, of inſtituting various ſeminaries for the cultivation of the Latin and German languages.

Ivan Vaſſilievitch II, died in 1584, in an agony of grief at the death of his eldeſt ſon Ivan, whoſe remains are placed contiguous to thoſe of his father. Hiſtorians have recorded, that this prince received his death from the perſon to whom he was indebted for his life, by an unfortunate blow on the temple. The enemies of the tzar imputed this melancholy cataſtrophe to deſign; while his apologiſts ſtrenuouſly laboured to repreſent it as merely accidental. On weighing theſe diſcordant accounts with impartiality, it appears, that the blow was either caſual, or, if deſigned to chaſtize, not intended to be fatal.

Feodor, the ſecond ſon and ſucceſſor of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. is interred in the ſame chapel; a prince of ſuch weak intellects and notorious incapacity, as to be a mere phantom of ſovereignty, and entirely under the direction of his brother-in-law Boris Godunof. Feodor aſcended the throne in 1584, and expired in 1598: in him ended

ended the male line of the ſovereigns of the houſe of Ruric*, a family which governed Ruſſia for a period of more than ſeven centuries.

Among the tombs in this church, the moſt remarkable is that which contains the body of a child, ſuppoſed by the Ruſſians to be the third ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. who is ſaid to have been aſſaſſinated at Vglitz, in the ninth year of his age, by order of Boris Godunof. This tomb, which is more diſtinguiſhed than thoſe of the Ruſſian ſovereigns, is of braſs, and highly ornamented. The child is claſſed among the ſaints of the Ruſſian calendar, and, according to the legends of the church, his body is ſaid to have performed miracles, and is believed by the credulous to remain uncorrupted. The top of the ſepulchre is frequently uncovered, and, during divine ſervice on the feſtival of St. Alexander Nevſki, I obſerved ſeveral Ruſſians kiſſing the inſide with great marks of devotion. The hiſtory of the aſſaſſination at Vglitz, and the adventures of the real or pretended Demetrius, require a ſeparate narrative†.

The ſovereigns of the houſe of Romanof are interred in the body of the church: their tombs are placed on each ſide between the maſſy piers which ſupport the roof.

* Unleſs Demetrius was the real ſon of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.

† See Chapter 7.

The

The firſt of this illuſtrious line is Michael Feodorovitch; whoſe election in 1613 put a final period to a long ſcene of civil bloodſhed, and reſtored tranquillity to his diſtracted country. He owed his elevation to his high rank and princely deſcent; but more particularly to the virtues, abilities, and popularity of his father Philaretes. Ladiſlaus, prince of Poland, having received a tender of the crown, from a body of Ruſſian nobles, aſſumed the title of tzar, and eſtabliſhed a garriſon at Moſcow: ſoon afterwards a powerful party, averſe to the government of a foreigner, expelled the Poles from the capital, and unanimouſly advanced Michael to the throne, though ſcarcely ſeventeen years of age. It is ſingular, that he was raiſed to this high ſtation, not only without his knowledge, but even in repugnance to his own inclination. When the deputies from Moſcow arrived at Coſtroma, where he reſided with his mother, and acquainted him with his election, Michael, recollecting the dreadful cataſtrophes which had befallen all the tzars ſince the demiſe of Feodor Ivanovitch, and reflecting on the diſtracted ſtate of Ruſſia, burſt into tears, and declined a crown, which ſeemed to entail deſtruction upon thoſe who had ventured to wear it*. Overcome, how-

* See Buſching's Account of the Election of Michael. Hiſt. M. II. p. 403.

ever,

ever, by the importunities of the deputies, and dazzled with the ſplendour of royalty, Michael at length yielded to the wiſhes of his country, and repairing without delay to Moſcow, was crowned with the uſual ſolemnities. Though he aſcended the throne with reluctance, he filled it with dignity, and found a protection from thoſe diſaſters which overwhelmed his immediate predeceſſors, in his own diſcretion, in the wiſe counſels of his father, and in the affection of his ſubjects. Michael died in 1645, after a proſperous reign of 23 years.

Alexèy Michaelovitch his ſon, whoſe aſhes are contiguous to his remains, is chiefly known by foreigners as the father of Peter the Great; but he deſerves likewiſe our attention for his own public virtues, and for many ſalutary inſtitutions. He reviſed, amended, and new-modeled the code of laws compiled by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.; he introduced a more regular diſcipline into the army, and invited * foreign officers into his ſervice; he procured from Amſterdam ſhip-builders, whom he employed in conſtructing veſſels for the navigation of the Caſpian Sea: in a word, he traced the great outlines of thoſe

* Mayerberg ſays, among the foreign officers in the ſervice of Alexèy Michaelovitch, were two generals, two field-marſhals, more than a hundred colonels, majors, captains, lieutenants, and enſigns in proportion.

regulations, which were afterwards improved and enlarged by the vaſt genius of his ſon Peter the Great. Alexèy deceaſed in 1676, in the 32d year of his reign, and the 49th of his age.

Oppoſite to the ſepulchre of Alexèy are thoſe of his ſons Feodor and Ivan. Feodor, who ſucceeded his father in the throne, is deſcribed by Voltaire and others as a prince who poſſeſſed a vigorous mind in a weak frame, and whoſe adminiſtration was dignified with many uſeful and glorious regulations. But incapacity, no leſs than ill-health, diſqualified him from conducting the affairs of government; he reſigned himſelf to the direction of his ſiſter Sophia, and all the beneficial acts of his adminiſtration muſt be aſcribed to her influence, and to the abilities of his prime miniſter the great Galitzin. Feodor, after a ſhort reign of ſix years, ſunk under the diſorders which had long preyed upon his frame.

Ivan, ſecond brother of Feodor, was rightful heir of the throne; being debilitated by epileptic fits, both in body and mind*, was at firſt excluded

* Schleiſſing, who was at Moſcow during the adminiſtration of Sophia, thus deſcribes the perſon of Ivan. "Ivan Alexèy, the eldeſt tzar, is ill-formed by nature; inſomuch that he can neither rightly ſee, read, nor ſpeak. He always wears a piece of green ſilk before his eyes, in order to prevent the upper part of his face from being ſeen on account of its deformity. But he is very pious and devout, and as, on account of his weak conſtitution, he cannot hunt,

SOVEREIGNS of RUSSIA of

1. MICHAEL FEODOROVITCH, elect

2. ALEXEY MICHAELOVITCH, died 1676; married, 1. Mar

3. FEODOR ALEXIEVITCH, born 1651; died 1682.

4. IVAN ALEXIEVITCH, born 1666; died 1695; married Proskovia Soltikof.

CATHARINE IVANOFNA, died 1733; married Charles Leopold duke of Mecklenburgh.

7. ANNE IVANOFNA, born 1694; Empress 1730; died 1740; married Frederick William duke of Courland.

ANNE, Regent of Russia, 1740; died in prison at Kolmogori 1746; married Anthony Ulric brother to the duke of Brunswick. Anthony died 1782.

6.

8. IVAN, born and Emperor 1740; deposed 1741; put to death at Schlusselburgh 1764.

13. ALEXANDER, b
married Louisa p
Baden, now Eliza
jevna; Emperor

the House of ROMANOF.

ed Tzar 1613; died 1633.

ja Ilishna Miloslafsky; 2. Natalia Kirilofna Nariskin.

SOPHIA, died 1704. Alexèy had many other daughters, who all died unmarried.

4. PETER THE GREAT, by Natalia, born 1672; died 1725: married, 1. Eudokia Lapukin;
2, 5. CATHARINE, who was born about 1689; Empress 1725; died 1727.

ALEXÈY PETROVITCH, by Eudokia, born 1691; died 1718; married Charlotte princess of Brunswick.

ANNE PETROFNA, by Catharine, b. 1707; d. 1730; m. Charles Frederick duke of Holstein Gottorp.

9. ELIZABETH, by Catharine, bo. 1709; Empress 1741; d. 1761.

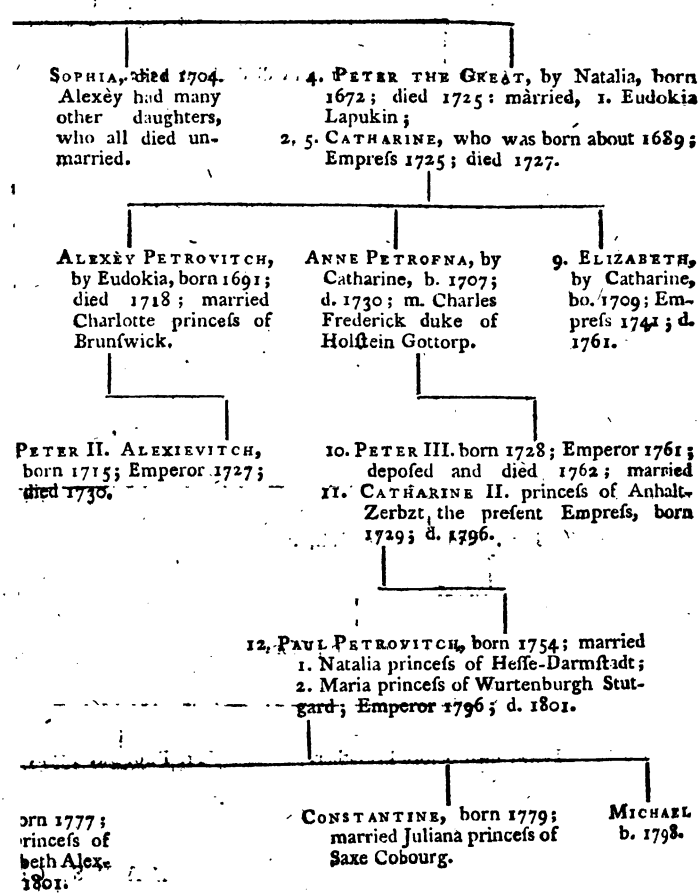
PETER II. ALEXIEVITCH, born 1715; Emperor 1727; died 1730.

10. PETER III. born 1728; Emperor 1761; deposed and died 1762; married
11. CATHARINE II. princess of Anhalt-Zerbzt, the present Empress, born 1729; d. 1796.

12. PAUL PETROVITCH, born 1754; married 1. Natalia princess of Hesse-Darmstadt; 2. Maria princess of Wurtenburgh Stutgard; Emperor 1796; d. 1801.

orn 1777; rincess of beth Alex. 1801.

CONSTANTINE, born 1779; married Juliana princess of Saxe Cobourg.



MICHAEL b. 1798.

CHAP.

cluded from the ſucceſſion as incapable of diſcharging the functions of government; but being afterwards recognized as joint-ſovereign with his half-brother Peter the Great, he was conſidered merely as a puppet, to ſatisfy the multitude, and ſecure to his adherents a ſhare in the adminiſtration of affairs. He was allowed to continue this ſtate-pageant during the remainder of his life; and his death, which happened in 1698, was ſcarcely perceived by his ſubjects, and not known to the reſt of Europe, except by the omiſſion of his name in the public acts.

The ſucceeding ſovereigns are interred at Peterſburg, excepting Peter II. whoſe aſhes repoſe in this cathedral. This monarch, the ſon of the unfortunate Tzarovitch Alexèy, was born in 1716, ſucceeded in 1727 Catharine I. and died in 1730 of the ſmall-pox, on the day appointed for his marriage with princeſs Dolgorucki. His death was occaſioned by the ignorance of the phyſicians, who treated his diſorder as a malignant fever. He acquired great popularity by fixing, during the latter part of his ſhort reign, his imperial reſidence at Moſcow. He was regretted as the grandſon of Peter the Great, and as the prince in whom the male line of the houſe of Romanof became extinct.

to take any violent exercife, he is the more conſtant in his attendance at church, and never miſſes a proceſſion. He is ſhort in his perſon, very thin, and is now 30 years of age."

CHAP. 4.

Cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary in the Kremlin.—Tombs of the Russian patriarchs.—Origin and abolition of the patriarchal dignity.—Account of the patriarch Philaretes, father of the house of Romanof.—Biographical anecdotes of the patriarch Nicon.

THE cathedral of the Assumption of the Virgin Mary, appropriated to the coronation of the Russian sovereigns, also situated in the Kremlin, is the most magnificent temple in Moscow. The skreen is in many parts covered with plates of solid silver and gold richly worked. From the centre of the roof hangs an enormous chandelier of massy silver, weighing 2940 pounds: it was made in England, and presented by Morosof, prime-minister of Alexey Michaelovitch*. The sacred vessels and episcopal vestments are extremely rich; but the workmanship is in general rude, and by no means equal to the materials.

Many of the painted figures which cover the inside walls are of a colossal size, and were executed so early as the close of the fifteenth century. This church also contains a head of the

* According to Storch it was a present from the Venetians to Boris Godunof, and weighs 2800 pounds.

Virgin,

Virgin, ſuppoſed to have been painted by St. Luke, and greatly celebrated in this country for the power of working miracles. The face is almoſt black; the head is ornamented with a glory of precious ſtones, and the hands and body are gilded, which gives it a groteſque appearance. It is placed in the ſkreen, and encloſed within a ſilver caſe, which is never removed but on great feſtivals, or to gratify the curioſity of ſtrangers. This Madonna, according to the tradition of the church, was brought from Greece to Kiof, transferred from thence to Volodimir, and afterwards to Moſcow. It ſeems to have been a Grecian painting, and was probably anterior to the revival of the art in Italy*.

In

* I ſaw ſeveral repreſentations of the Virgin in the north of Italy ſimilar to this painting: ſome were called the productions of St Luke, others of Cimabue, or his ſcholars. The complexion in theſe was likewiſe of a duſky hue. Probably the Grecian painters repreſented the Virgin of a dark complexion, which was copied by Cimabue and the earlieſt Italian artiſts, who received the art from the Greeks. Le Bruyn, ſpeaking of this Madonna at Moſcow, ſays, "It is very gloomy and almoſt black; but whether this proceeds from the effects of time, or the ſmoke of tapers, or the fancy of the painter; certain it is, there is no great matter in it," &c. Travels, vol. I. p. 70. An ingenious author, in a late publication, mentions in the monaſtery of Monte Virgine, a Coloſſal portrait of the Virgin Mary, which paſſes for the work of St. Luke the Evangeliſt, and adds, "There are in Italy and elſewhere ſome dozens of black, ugly Madonnas, which all paſs for the work of his hands, and as ſuch are revered." To which paſ-

In this cathedral are depoſited the remains of the Ruſſian patriarchs.

The firſt was Job, before whoſe time the primate of the Ruſſian church was ſuffragan to the patriarch of Conſtantinople. Job, being metropolitan archbiſhop of Moſcow, was, in 1588, inſtalled in this cathedral patriarch of Ruſſia, by Jeremias, patriarch of Conſtantinople. The ceremony of tranſlating the ſee from the capital of Turkey to this city is thus deſcribed by an author, who was himſelf preſent*.

"On

ſage he ſubjoins the following note, but without citing his authority: "The origin of this fable, or rather miſtake, appears to be, that about the time that paintings of holy ſubjects came into faſhion, there lived at Conſtantinople a painter called Luke, who, by many repreſentations of the Virgin, acquired a very tranſcendent reputation. He was a man of exemplary life, and on account of his piety, and the edifying uſe he made of his talents, was generally known by the name of the Holy Luke. In proceſs of time, when the epocha and circumſtances of his life were forgotten by the vulgar, and his performances had acquired by age a ſmoky, duſky caſt, ſufficient to perplex the ſhort-ſighted connoiſſeurs of thoſe days, devotees aſcribed his pictures to the Evangeliſt, who was pronounced a painter, becauſe they knew of no other ſaint of the name, and becauſe, if he had been a painter, no one could have had ſuch opportunities of examining and delineating the features of the holy model." Swinburne's Travels in the Two Sicilies, p. 123. For proof of the introduction of painting into Ruſſia and Italy by the Greeks, ſee the Deſcription of the Cathedral of St. Sophia at Novogorod.

* Fletcher's Ruſſia, Chap. 21. This author adds, that Jeremias, whom he calls Hieronimo, had been either baniſhed from Conſtantinople by the Turks, or depoſed by the Greek clergy; that he came

"On the 25th of January, 1588, the Greek patriarch, accompanied with the Ruſſe clergie, went to the great church of Prechiſte, or our Ladie, within the Emperour's caſtle, where he made an oration, and delivered his reſignation in an inſtrument of writing, and ſo laid down his patriarchal ſtaffe; which was preſently received by the metropolite of Moſko, and divers other ceremonies uſed about the inauguration of the new patriarch."

The moſt venerable of Job's ſucceſſors in the patriarchal ſee was Philaretes, who, though no ſovereign himſelf, is celebrated as the founder of that line of Ruſſian monarchs, diſtinguiſhed by the name of the Houſe of Romanof*. His ſecular name was Feodor, and he drew his lineage from Andrew, a Pruſſian prince, who came into Ruſſia about the middle of the fourteenth cen-

came to Moſcow without any invitation from the Ruſſians, to obtain money from Feodor Ivanovitch, and with this view propoſed the tranſlation of the patriarchal ſee from Conſtantinople to Moſcow. Others deny that he was either depoſed or baniſhed, and relate, that the tzar having formally demanded the conſent of the four patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Conſtantinople, and Jeruſalem, to the eſtabliſhment of a new patriarch in Ruſſia, they acceded to the requeſt, and ſolemnly deputed Jeremias to Moſcow, who inveſted the metropolitan Job with the new dignity. King on the Greek Church, p. 496.

* In conſequence of a cuſtom prevalent among the Ruſſians to adopt the appellation of the grandfather for a family name, the new royal line was called Romanof, in honour of Roman, Feodor's grandfather.

tury, and whoſe immediate deſcendants enjoyed the higheſt offices under the ſovereigns of this country. Feodor was ſon of Nikita Romanovitch, great grandſon of Andrew, and brother of Anaſtaſia, firſt wife of Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. When Boris Godunof was elevated to the throne, the high birth, great abilities, and popularity of Feodor Romanof rendered him ſo obnoxious to the new monarch, that he was compelled to aſſume the prieſthood, and confined in a monaſtery; on which occaſion he, according to the Ruſſian cuſtom, changed his name to Philaretes.

On the acceſſion of the ſovereign whom the Ruſſians call the Falſe Demetrius, Philaretes was releaſed from confinement, and appointed to the archbiſhopric of Roſtof. Soon after the depoſition of Vaſſili Shuiſki, a ſtrong party among the nobles having agreed to elect Ladiſlaus, ſon of Sigiſmond III. king of Poland, tzar of Ruſſia; Philaretes was diſpatched, at the head of an embaſſy, to ſettle the conditions of his ſon's election. He found the Poliſh monarch engaged in the ſiege of Smolenſko; and when the king demanded the immediate ceſſion of that town, Philaretes replied, "When your ſon has aſcended our throne, he will poſſeſs not only Smolenſko, but all Ruſſia, and it ill becomes you to diſmember his territories." Sigiſmond, exaſperated at this ſpirited reply, and ſtill farther

further inflamed by the remonſtrances of the embaſſadors againſt his conduct towards Ruſſia, arreſted and threw them into priſon. Philaretes languiſhed nine years in the caſtle of Marienburgh*, in Pruſſia, under a rigorous confinement.

His abſence, however, did not diminiſh the veneration which the Ruſſians entertained for his character: the whole nation unanimouſly conferred the crown on his ſon Michael, a youth only in the ſeventeenth year of his age; in hopes that a peace with Poland would reſtore Philaretes to his country, and render him the director of that power with which they inveſted his ſon. This expectation was gratified at the truce of Develina, concluded in 1619, between Ruſſia and Poland, which gave Philaretes to the wiſhes of the people. On his arrival at Moſcow he was conſecrated patriarch, and became the real, though not the oſtenſible ſovereign of this country, as his ſon held the reins of government under his direction. He was inveſted with the adminiſtration of affairs; his name was frequently aſſociated in the public acts with that of the tzar; he gave audience to embaſſadors, and on many public occaſions was permitted to take precedence of his ſon†. His

* Buſching. Hiſt. Mag. v. II. p. 403.

† Schmid, Ruſſ. Geſ. v. II. p. 13.—Buſching. Hiſt. Mag. v. VII. p. 329.—Olearius.

experience,

experience, moderation, and abilities, rendered him worthy of those high honours and unbounded authority; and the prosperity of Michael's reign proclaimed the wisdom of his sage monitor. Philaretes died in 1633, in an advanced age, regretted by his son and the whole kingdom.

The last of these patriarchs was Adrian, at whose demise, in 1698, Peter the Great refused to nominate a successor; and in 1721 the patriarchal dignity was formally abolished.

In a former chapter I observed, that there are no seats in the Russian churches, the ceremonial of the Greek worship requiring all persons to stand during the performance of divine service. In this cathedral I observed two elevated places near the skreen, enclosed with rails without seats; one is appropriated to the sovereign; the other was formerly destined for the patriarch, whose state and grandeur were not inferior to those of the tzar himself. Upon some public occasion the archbishop of Novogorod, who aspired to have the patriarchal dignity revived in his person, pointing to the place formerly occupied by the patriarch, remarked to Peter, "Sire, that structure is now useless; will not your majesty order it to be removed?" Peter was silent; but the archbishop repeating the question, replied, "That place shall not be removed, nor shall you fill it*."

* From prince Volkonski.

The

The Ruſſians reckon eleven patriarchs from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the dignity in the perſon of Job, to its final abolition after the death of Adrian. Of theſe the greateſt and moſt conſpicuous was the celebrated Nicon; whom, as he is the only patriarch not interred in this cathedral, I could not mention on contemplating their tombs. It is hoped that no apology is neceſſary for the account of a prelate, whom ſome Ruſſians ſtill abhor as Antichriſt, and others adore as a ſaint; and whoſe extraordinary character has never been faithfully repreſented to the Engliſh reader.

Nicon was born in 1613, in a village of the government of Niſhnei Novogorod, of obſcure parents. He received, at the baptiſmal font, the name of Nikita, which, when he became monk, he changed to Nicon. He was educated in the convent of St. Macarius, under the care of a monk. From the courſe of his ſtudies, which were almoſt ſolely directed to the Holy Scriptures, and the exhortations of his preceptor, he imbibed, at a very early period, the ſtrongeſt attachment to a monaſtic life, and was only prevented from following his inclination by the authority of his father. In conformity, however, to the wiſhes of his family, he entered into matrimony; and as that ſtate precluded him from being

being admitted into a convent, he was ordained a ſecular prieſt.

With his wife he paſſed ten years; firſt as a pariſh-prieſt in ſome country village, and afterwards at Moſcow in the ſame capacity; but loſing three children, whom he tenderly loved, his diſguſt for the world and his propenſity to ſolitude returned with redoubled violence; and, having perſuaded his wife to take the veil, he entered into the monaſtic order. He choſe for his own retreat a ſmall iſland of the White-Sea, inhabited only by a few perſons, who formed a kind of eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, as remarkable for the auſterity of the rules as for the ſolitude of the ſituation: twelve monks occupied ſeparate cells, equally diſtant from each other* and from the church which ſtood in the centre of the iſland. Theſe lonely anchorites aſſembled regularly on Saturday evening in the church, where they aſſiſted in the performance of divine ſervice during the whole night, and the next day until noon, and then retired to their reſpective habitations. This practice was repeated on certain feſtivals; at other times each recluſe occupied his cell undiſturbed by mutual intercourſe. Their food was bread, and fiſh which they caught themſelves, or procured from the con-

* Two verſts, or a mile and a half,

tiguous

tiguous continent. Such was the situation to which Nicon retired, as congenial to the gloomy ſtate of his own mind; where, brooding in ſolitude upon the uncertainty of human life, he was unhappily led to conſider the moſt debaſing auſterities as acceptable to the Supreme Being, and contracted that cloiſtered pride, which gave an alloy to his virtues, and proved the greateſt defect in his character, when raiſed to an exalted ſtation.

After a ſhort reſidence in this iſland, Nicon accompanied the chief of the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment to Moſcow, to raiſe a collection for building a new church. He was ſcarcely returned from this expedition, when, at the inſtigation of the chief, whom he had offended during the journey, he was compelled by the other monks to retire from the iſland. He embarked in an open boat, with only a ſingle perſon, in a high ſea: being overtaken by a violent ſtorm, he was toſſed about in continual danger of periſhing; but was at length driven upon an iſland near the mouth of the Onega.

From this iſland he repaired to a monaſtery of the contiguous continent; and was admitted into the ſociety; but inſtead of inhabiting an apartment in the convent, he conſtructed a ſeparate cell on an adjacent iſland; where he lived upon the

ſcanty

fish which he caught with his own hands, and never visited the monastery but during the time of divine service. In consequence of this recluse and rigid way of life he was held in high esteem by the brethren, and on the death of the superior was unanimously raised to the vacant dignity. He continued in this capacity three years, when, being drawn by some family affairs to Moscow, he was casually presented to the czar Alexèy Michaelovitch, who, captivated with his various talents and extensive learning, detained him at Moscow, under his immediate protection. Within less than five years he was successively created archimandrite or abbot of the Novospatskoi convent, archbishop of Novogorod, and patriarch of Russia. He deserved these rapid promotions by a rare assemblage of extraordinary qualities, which even his enemies allowed him to possess; undaunted courage, irreproachable morals, exalted charity, comprehensive learning, and commanding eloquence.

While archbishop of Novogorod, to which dignity he was raised in 1649, he gave a memorable instance of firmness and discretion. During a tumult, the Imperial governor, prince Feodor Kilkof, took refuge in the archiepiscopal palace against the fury of the insurgents, who, bursting open the gates, threatened instant pillage if the governor was not delivered to them without delay.

delay. Nicon, instead of acceding to their demand, boldly advanced into the midst of them, and exhorted them to peace. The populace, inflamed to madness by the prelate's appearance, transferred their rage from the governor to him; they assaulted him with stones, dragged him by the hair, and offered every species of violence and indignity to his person. Being conveyed to the palace in a state of insensibility, he was recovered by immediate assistance; but, regardless of the imminent danger from which he had just escaped, he persisted in his resolution, either to appease the tumult, or perish in the attempt. With this design, as if devoting himself to certain death, he confessed and received the sacrament, and repaired to the town-house, where the insurgents were assembled. He confounded them by his presence; softened them into repentance by a firm, but pathetic address, and persuading them to disperse, tranquillity was instantly restored. This calm, however, was of no long duration: the sedition, allayed by the spirit and eloquence of Nicon, was again fomented by the ringleaders of the tumult, and broke into open rebellion; many of the inhabitants renounced their allegiance to the tzar, and proposed to deliver the town into the hands of the king of Poland. The prelate, however, undaunted by this change in their sentiments, continued

tinued his efforts to bring them back to their duty: his remonſtrances and exhortations gradually prevailed; many flocked to his palace, deſiring his interceſſion with their enraged ſovereign; and though the remainder of the inſurgents blocked up the avenues to the town, yet he contrived, at the peril of his life, to ſend information to the tzar. Being armed, by a commiſſion from Moſcow, with full powers, he, by a vigorous exertion of authority, but without the effuſion of blood, finally quelled the rebellion. To him was committed the trial of the rebels, and the diſpoſal of life and death; an office which he executed with as much judgment as lenity. The leader of the ſedition was alone puniſhed with death; ten of his moſt mutinous adherents were knooted and baniſhed, and a few were condemned to a ſhort impriſonment. Nicon nobly forgave the outrage committed againſt his own perſon; and in chaſtizing the public offence tempered the ſeverity of juſtice with the feelings of humanity.

He gained the reſpect of the inhabitants by the unwearied aſſiduity with which he performed the functions of his archiepiſcopal office, and conciliated their affection by acts of unbounded charity. He built and endowed alms-houſes for widows, old men, and orphans, was the great patron of the indigent, the zealous protector of the

the lower claſs of men againſt the oppreſſions of the great, and during a dreadful famine, appropriated the revenues of his ſee to the general relief of the poor.

Nicon was no leſs conſpicuous in the vigilant diſcharge of his patriarchal office, to which he was appointed in 1652, only in the 39th year of his age. He inſtituted ſeminaries for the inſtruction of prieſts in the Greek and Latin languages, and enriched the patriarchal library with rare eccleſiaſtical and claſſical manuſcripts, drawn from a convent at Mount Athos. By a diligent reviſal of the Holy Scriptures, and a collation of the various editions of the Old and New Teſtament, perceiving many errors in the printed copies of the Bible and Liturgy uſed for divine ſervice, he prevailed upon the tzar to ſummon a general council of the Greek church at Moſcow, in which he preſided. By his arguments, authority, and influence, it was determined that the moſt antient Sclavonian verſion of the Bible was exact, and that the errors with which the later copies abounded ſhould be corrected. He inſpected and ſuperintended the printing of a new edition of the Sclavonian Bible, which was become extremely rare. He removed from the churches the pictures of deceaſed perſons, to which many of the Ruſſians offered a blind adoration; he aboliſhed a few ceremonies which had

been carried to a ſuperſtitious exceſs: in a word, his labours tended more to the reformation of the church, than the united efforts of all his predeceſſors in the patriarchal chair.

Nor was he ſolely diſtinguiſhed in his profeſſional character; but proved himſelf no leſs qualified in a civil capacity. Although his ſtudies were hitherto confined to eccleſiaſtical ſubjects, and the recluſeneſs of his former life ſeemed to impede the attainment of political knowledge; yet he was no ſooner called to a public ſtation, than his abilities expanded in proportion as the objects which they embraced became more numerous and important; his ſagacity, ſharpened by continual application, ſoon rendered him maſter of the moſt intricate affairs, taught him to diſcriminate the moſt oppoſite intereſts, and to adopt that deciſive line of conduct which marks the great and enlightened ſtateſman. Being conſulted by the tzar on all occaſions, he ſoon became the ſoul of his councils*, and gained the aſcendancy in the cabinet

* The influence which Nicon, from the ſuperiority of his genius, obtained in the tzar's councils, perhaps induced Voltaire, in his erroneous account of this patriarch, to declare, that he "voulut elever ſa chaire au-deſſus du trône; non ſeulement il uſurpait le droit de s'aſſeoir dans le ſenat à côté du czar, mais il pretendait, qu'on ne pouvait faire ni la guerre ni la paix ſans ſon conſentement," &c. Hiſt. de Pierre le Grand, p. 74. From Voltaire, the compiler of the article of Ruſſia, in the Univerſal Hiſtory, has adopted this idle aſſertion. V. 38. p. 140.

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by the vaſt ſuperiority of his genius, ever fertile in expedients, and zealous to recommend the moſt ſpirited meaſures.

Having thus attained the higheſt ſummit of human grandeur to which a ſubject can arrive, he fell a victim to popular diſcontents, and to the cabals of a court. His fall, no leſs ſudden than his riſe, may be traced from the following cauſes: The removal of the painted images from the churches diſguſted a large party among the Ruſſians ſuperſtitiouſly addicted to the adoration of their anceſtors; the correction of the errors in the Liturgy and Bible, the abolition of ſome ceremonies, and the admiſſion of a few others (introduced, perhaps, with too much haſte, and without due deference to the prejudices of his countrymen), occaſioned a ſchiſm in the church; many perſons averſe to all innovations, and adhering to the old tenets and ceremonies, formed a conſiderable ſect under the appellation of *Old Believers*, and, riſing in ſeveral parts, created much diſturbance to the ſtate, circumſtances naturally imputed to Nicon by his enemies. He excited the hatred of an ignorant and indolent clergy by the appointment of Greek and Latin ſeminaries; he raiſed the envy and jealouſy of the prime-miniſter and courtiers by his predominance in the cabinet, and by the haughtineſs of

his deportment, offended the tzarina and her father, who were implacable in their reſentment.

All theſe parties uniting in one great combination, Nicon haſtened his fall by a ſupercilious demeanour, which occaſionally bordered upon arrogance; by truſting ſolely for his ſupport to the rectitude of his conduct and the favour of his ſovereign, and by diſdaining to guard againſt what he conſidered as the petty intrigues of a court.

The only circumſtance which ſeemed wanting to complete his diſgrace was the loſs of Alexèy's protection; and this was at length effected by the gradual, but ſecret inſinuations of the tzarina and her party, who finally availed themſelves of an unſucceſsful war with Poland, of which the patriarch is ſaid to have been the principal adviſer. Nicon, finding himſelf excluded from the preſence of a ſovereign accuſtomed to conſult him on every emergency, and diſdaining to hold the higheſt office in the kingdom, when he had loſt the confidence of his maſter, aſtoniſhed the public by a voluntary abdication of his patriarchal dignity. This meaſure, cenſured by many as haſty and imprudent, and highly expreſſive of that pride which ſtrongly marked his character, muſt yet be eſteemed manly and reſolute, which even thoſe who condemn cannot but admire. It

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may alſo admit of great palliation, if we conſider that the popular odium was riſing againſt him; that a powerful party had ſecretly effected his diſgrace, and that, as he foreſaw his fall, he preferred a voluntary abdication of his dignity to a forcible depoſition; chuſing to reſign with ſpirit what he could not retain without meanneſs *.

This abdication took place on the 10th of July, O. S. 1658, and he quitted his exalted ſtation with the ſame greatneſs of ſoul with which he had aſcended it. He was permitted to retain the title of patriarch, while the functions of his office were performed by the archbiſhop of Novogorod. He choſe for the place of his reſidence the convent of Jeruſalem, built and endowed by himſelf. On his arrival he re-aſſumed his recluſe way of life, and practiſed the moſt rigid mortifications. The hermitage he inhabited is thus deſcribed by an author †, who viſited the ſpot in the beginning of this century: "A winding ſtair-caſe, ſo narrow that one man could hardly paſs, leads to the little chapel of about

* This is the opinion of Mayerberg, who came to Moſcow ſix years after his abdication: After enumerating the cauſes of his fall, he adds, "Propter quæ omnia *omnibus exoſus*, et ad exilium *communibus votis* expetitus patrocinium nullum invenerit in favore Alexii, cujus animum ſenſim abalienaverant jactis in longum odiis uxor et ſocer illi ob privatas cauſas infenſi," p. 87.

† Perry's State of Ruſſia, v. I. p. 140.

a fathom in the ſquare, in which the patriarch uſed to perform his ſolitary worſhip. The room in which he lived was not much larger; in it hung a broad iron-plate, with a croſs of braſs fixed to a heavy chain, weighing above twenty pounds, all which the ſaid patriarch wore about his neck for twenty years together. His bed was a ſquare ſtone two ells in length, and ſcarcely one in breadth, over which was ſpread nothing but a cover of ruſhes. Below in the houſe was a ſmall chimney, in which the patriarch uſed to dreſs his own victuals."

Nicon, however, did not waſte his whole time in the performance of uſeleſs auſterities; but employed himſelf in compiling a regular ſeries of Ruſſian annaliſts from Neſtor, the earlieſt hiſtorian of this country, to the reign of Alexèy Michaelovitch. He purſued this plan with his accuſtomed zeal. After comparing and collating numerous manuſcripts, he digeſted the whole collection in chronological order into a work, which is called ſometimes, from its author, the Chronicle of Nicon, and ſometimes, from the place where it was begun and depoſited, the Chronicle of the Convent of Jeruſalem. This compilation, the labour of twenty years, is juſtly eſteemed, by the beſt Ruſſian hiſtorians, a work of the greateſt authority; and was conſidered, by the venerable author, of ſuch importance

portance to the hiſtory of his country, that, in the true ſpirit of enthuſiaſm, he begins the performance by anathematizing all thoſe who ſhould attempt to alter the minuteſt expreſſion.

The innocent manner in which he paſſed his time could not protect him from the perſecutions of his enemies, who were apprehenſive that while he retained the name of patriarch, he might be reinſtated in his former dignity. Repeated complaints were urged againſt him; every diſturbance, occaſioned by the old believers, was made a matter of ſerious accuſation; not only his former conduct was arraigned, but new crimes were invented to render him ſtill more obnoxious. He was accuſed of diſreſpectful expreſſions relating to the tzar, in a letter to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, of holding a treaſonable correſpondence, and receiving bribes from the king of Poland.

The tzar, continually beſet by the patriarch's enemies, was prevailed on to proceed to the moſt violent extremities. He convened, in 1666, a general council of the Greek and Ruſſian clergy at Moſcow, who, after a ſhort deliberation, formally depoſed Nicon from the patriarchal ſee, and baniſhed him to a diſtant convent. The principal cauſe aſſigned for this depoſition was, that Nicon, having by a voluntary abdication meanly deſerted his flock, was unworthy to fill

the patriarchal chair. This futile allegation is a ſufficient proof that the other crimes were maliciouſly circulated to prejudice the tzar, and to influence the judges. In conformity to his ſentence, Nicon was degraded to the condition of a common monk, and impriſoned in the convent of Therapont, in the government of Bielozero. His confinement was for ſome time extremely rigorous; becauſe, conſcious of his own integrity, he perſiſted in a denial of guilt, and refuſed to accept a pardon for crimes which he had never committed. Upon the death of Alexèy, in 1676, Feodor, probably at the inſtigation of his prime-miniſter, prince Galitzin, the patron and friend of genius, permitted Nicon to remove to the convent of St. Cyril, where he enjoyed perfect liberty.

Nicon ſurvived his depoſition fifteen years. In 1681 he obtained permiſſion to return to the convent of Jeruſalem, that he might end his days in that favourite ſpot, but expired upon the road near Yaroſlaf, in the 66th year of his age. His remains were tranſported to the convent of Jeruſalem, and buried with all the ceremonies which are uſual at the interment of patriarchs *.

* For the Hiſtory of Nicon, I have followed Muller in his Nachricht von Novogorod in S. R. G. vol. V. p. 541 to 559. L'Eveſque has alſo drawn from the ſame ſource a ſpirited and candid account of this great patriarch, to which I acknowledge myſelf indebted for a few reflections. Hiſt. de Ruſſie, v. III. p. 391 to 394; alſo 417 to 430.

CHAP. 5.

Ruſſian archives.—Engliſh ſtate-papers.—Commencement of the connection between the courts of London and Moſcow.—Correſpondence between queen Elizabeth and the tzar Ivan Vaſſilievitch II.—His demand of the lady Anne Haſtings in marriage.—Account of that negotiation.—Other diſpatches.—Riſe of the title of tzar.—Negotiation between Peter the Great and the European courts relative to the title of emperor.—Univerſity.—Syllabus of the lectures.—Matthæi's Catalogue of the Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod.—Hymn to Ceres attributed to Homer.

MR. Muller obligingly accompanied us to the place in the Khitaigorod, where the public archives are depoſited: it is a ſtrong brick building, containing ſeveral vaulted apartments with iron floors. Theſe archives, conſiſting of numerous ſtate-papers, were crowded into boxes, and thrown aſide like common lumber; until the preſent empreſs ordered them to be reviſed and arranged. In conformity to this mandate, Mr. Muller has diſpoſed them in chronological order, and any ſingle document may be inſpected with little trouble. They are encloſed in ſeparate cabinets with glaſs doors: thoſe relative to Ruſſia are claſſed according to the ſeveral provinces to which they relate; and over each cabinet is inſcribed the name of the province. In the ſame

manner

manner the manuſcripts relative to foreign kingdoms are placed in ſeparate diviſions under the reſpective titles of Poland, Sweden, England, France, Germany, &c. The papers which concerned my native country principally engaged my attention. The earlieſt correſpondence between the ſovereigns of England and Ruſſia commenced in the middle of the 16th century, ſoon after the diſcovery of Archangel, and chiefly relates to the permiſſion of trade granted excluſively to the Engliſh company of merchants ſettled in Ruſſia. The firſt record is an original letter of Philip and Mary to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. acknowledging the receipt of a diſpatch tranſmitted to England by his embaſſador Oſef Niphea, and returning thanks for the liberty of opening a free trade throughout the Ruſſian dominions. The charter of privileges granted by the tzar to the Engliſh merchants, together with the numerous letters which he received from Elizabeth, are preſerved in this collection, and are moſtly publiſhed in Hackluyt's Voyages: one, however, not found in that work, is dated the 18th of May, 1570, in which Elizabeth, among other expreſſions of friendſhip, offers to Ivan Vaſſilievitch, if compelled by an inſurrection to quit his country, an aſylum in England. This letter was ſigned by Elizabeth in the preſence of her ſecret council: amongſt the ſignatures

tures I noticed the names of Bacon, Leyceſter, and Cecil.

Some hiſtorians having aſſerted, that Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. carried his perſonal reſpect for queen Elizabeth ſo far as to be one of her ſuitors; while Camden only relates, that he propoſed to marry lady Anne Haſtings, daughter of the earl of Huntingdon, my curioſity led me to make inquiries into this tranſaction. With reſpect to any treaty of marriage between the tzar and Elizabeth, the archives are ſilent; but furniſhed ſome curious particulars in regard to the intended eſpouſal of lady Anne Haſtings.

The firſt hint of this match was ſuggeſted by Dr. Robert Jacob, a phyſician, whom Elizabeth, at the tzar's requeſt, ſent to Moſcow. Jacob, acquainted with the ficklenefs of Ivan in his amours, and his deſire of contracting an alliance with a foreign princeſs, extolled the beauty, accompliſhments, and rank of lady Anne Haſtings, whom he repreſented as niece of the queen, and daughter of an independent prince, and inſpired the tzar with a ſtrong inclination to eſpouſe her, although he had juſt married his fifth wife Maria Feoderofna. The tzar, fired by his deſcription, diſpatched Gregory Pirſemſkoi, a Ruſſian nobleman of the firſt diſtinction, to England, to make a formal demand of the lady for his wife. By his inſtructions, he was ordered, after a conference

ference with the queen, to procure an interview with the lady, obtain her portrait, and inform himſelf of the rank and ſituation of her family: he was then to requeſt that an Engliſh embaſſador might return with him to Moſcow, with full powers to adjuſt the conditions of the marriage. If an objection ſhould be raiſed, that Ivan was already married, he was directed to anſwer, that the tzar, having eſpouſed a ſubject, was at liberty to divorce her; and if it was aſked, what proviſion ſhould be made for the children by lady Anne Haſtings, he was inſtructed to reply, that Feodor, the eldeſt prince, was heir to the throne; but that her children ſhould be amply endowed.

In conſequence of theſe orders, Pirſemſkoi repaired to London, had an audience of Elizabeth, ſaw lady Haſtings, who had juſt recovered from the ſmall-pox, procured her portrait, and returned to Moſcow in 1583, accompanied with an Engliſh embaſſador, Sir Jerome Bowes. The latter, a perſon of a capricious diſpoſition, at his firſt interview greatly offended the tzar, as well by his freedom of ſpeech, as becauſe he was not commiſſioned to give a final aſſent to the marriage, but only to receive a more explicit offer, and tranſmit it to the queen. The tzar, unaccuſtomed to brook delay, declared, "that no obſtacle ſhould prevent him from marrying ſome kinſwoman of her majeſty's; that he ſhould

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ſend again into England to have ſome one of them to wife; adding, that if her majeſty would not, upon his next embaſſy, ſend him ſuch an one as he deſired, himſelf would then go into England, and carry his treaſure with him, and marry one of them there." Sir Jerome Bowes, probably in conformity to his inſtructions, threw obſtacles in the way of the marriage: inſtead of ſpeaking favourably of lady Haſtings, he mentioned her perſon with indifference, and denied that ſhe was any relation to the queen; adding, with ſome marks of contempt, that his miſtreſs had many ſuch nieces. By theſe means the affair was ſuſpended; and the negotiation finally terminated by the death of the tzar in the beginning of the following year.

It appears from theſe archives, that the correſpondence between the Ruſſian and Engliſh ſovereigns, which began with Ivan, did not ceaſe upon his demiſe. The amity, indeed, between the two courts was ſo firmly eſtabliſhed, that Charles I. ſent a corps of troops, under colonel Sanderſon, to the aſſiſtance of Michael Feodorovitch, againſt Ladiſlaus king of Poland; and Alexèy Michaelovitch occaſionally furniſhed Charles, in the period of his greateſt diſtreſs, with money and corn. The laſt letter from our unfortunate ſovereign to Alexèy is dated Iſle of Wight, June 1, 1648, and was written

written during his confinement in Cariſbrook-Caſtle. I obſerved one from Charles II. to the tzar, announcing the execution of his father: it is dated September the 16th, 1649, and was brought to Moſcow by Lord Culpepper.

During the uſurpation of Cromwell, Alexèy maintained a conſtant correſpondence with the exiled Charles. He was accuſtomed to declare, that all monarchs ought to eſteem the cauſe of Charles I. as their own, and ſhould not, by countenancing an uſurper, encourage ſubjects to rebel againſt their king. In conformity to theſe ſentiments he refuſed, for ſome time*, to hold any intercourſe with the protector; and theſe archives contain no letters between Cromwell and the tzar.

The reſtoration of Charles II. renewed the harmony between the two courts; and as from this interval the diſpatches received from England were ſo numerous as to require ſeveral days to examine them with attention, I was compelled to retire without ſatisfying my curioſity. Theſe papers containing a complete hiſtorical ſeries of the alliances, connection, cor-

* I ſay *for ſome time*; for although, if I rightly remember, theſe archives contain no diſpatches between the tzar and Cromwell, yet it is certain, that afterwards Alexèy maintained a correſpondence with the protector, and had once conſented to receive his embaſſadors at Moſcow. See the Chapter on the Riſe and Progreſs of the Engliſh Trade to Ruſſia, in the next volume.

reſpondence, and commerce, between Ruſſia and England, would form an intereſting publication, if printed in chronological order, and interſperſed with hiſtorical obſervations.

I had ſcarcely time to glance over the numerous ſtate-papers which relate to the other European powers; but the keeper of the archives did not omit pointing out to me one document of great importance in the hiſtory of Ruſſia: I allude to the famous letter, written in the German tongue*, from Maximilian I. emperor of Germany, to Vaſſili Ivánovitch, confirming a treaty of alliance againſt Sigiſmond king of Poland. This diſpatch, dated Auguſt the 4th, 1514, and ratified with the ſeal of the golden-bull, is remarkable becauſe Maximilian addreſſes Vaſſili by calling him *Kayſer* und Herrſcher aller Ruſſen; *Emperor* and ruler of all the Ruſſias. This deed, diſcovered by baron Shavirof in the archives in the beginning of this century, firſt ſuggeſted to Peter the idea of aſſuming the title of emperor. The claim gave riſe to various negotiations, and occaſioned a curious controverſy among the learned, concerning the riſe and progreſs of the titles by which the monarchs of this country have been diſtinguiſhed. The early ſovereigns of Ruſſia were

* The reader will find a copy of the original German in Weber's Verandertes Ruſsland, v. I. p. 357; and a faithful tranſlation in Perry's State of Ruſſia, p. 258.

called

called great-dukes; and Vaſſili Ivanovitch* was probably the firſt who ſtyled himſelf tzar, an expreſſion which, in the Sclavonian language, ſignifies king; his ſucceſſors continued to bear within their own dominions that title as the moſt honourable appellation, until Peter the Great firſt took that of *Povélitel*, or emperor. It is nevertheleſs as certain, that the foreign courts†, in their intercourſe with that of Moſcow, ſtyled the ſovereign indiſcriminately great-duke, tzar, and emperor‡. With reſpect to England, in Chancellor's Account of Ruſſia, Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. was called lord and *emperor* of all Ruſſia; and in the Engliſh diſpatches, from the reign of Elizabeth to that of Anne, the ſovereign was generally addreſſed under the ſame appellation. We may at the ſame time remark, that when the European powers ſtyled the tzar emperor of Muſcovy, they by no means intended to give him a

* The appellation of tzar was not taken, as ſome authors ſuppoſe, from the Tartars, when Ivan conquered Caſan, for the prince of Caſan was called Khan.

† This is aſſerted upon the poſitive teſtimony of Herberſtein; and his authority is unqueſtionable, becauſe, as he was twice embaſſador to Moſcow, the firſt time to Vaſſili Ivanovitch, and afterwards to Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. he muſt have been acquainted with the titles borne by theſe two ſovereigns. Other authors ſuppoſe that his ſon Ivan was the firſt who aſſumed the title of tzar.

‡ According to Mayerberg, the title of Alexèy Michaelovitch prefixed to his Code of Laws, was "Tzar, et Magnus Dux totius Ruſſiæ Autrocator." Iter in Moſ. p. 113.

title

title ſimilar to that which was peculiar to the emperor of Germany; but beſtowed upon him that appellation as upon an Aſiatic ſovereign, in the ſame manner as we now ſay the emperors of China and Japan. When Peter, therefore, determined to aſſume the title of emperor, he found no difficulty in proving that it was conferred upon his predeceſſors by moſt of the European powers; yet, when he was deſirous of affixing to the term the European ſenſe, it was conſidered as an innovation, and was productive of more negotiations than would have been requiſite for the termination of the moſt important ſtate-affair. After many delays and objections, the principal courts of Europe conſented, about the year 1722, to addreſs the ſovereign of Ruſſia with the title of emperor, without prejudice, nevertheleſs, to the other crowned heads of Europe*.

The

* Many authors have erroneouſly advanced, that the Engliſh embaſſador, Lord Whitworth, ſoon after the battle of Pultava, gave, by order of queen Anne, the title of emperor in its *European ſenſe* to Peter the Great. But the following extracts from a diſpatch of Lord Carteret to Sir Luke Schaub, the Engliſh miniſter at Paris, which fell under my obſervation ſince I finiſhed the account in the text, will fully contradict theſe aſſertions, and are here inſerted, becauſe they will help to throw further light upon this ſubject. The United Provinces and the king of Pruſſia had, in 1711, acknowledged Peter's right to the title of emperor; but the courts of London and Paris withheld their conſent. During the negotiation

The archives contain alſo thirteen volumes of letters, journals, notes, and other manuſcripts, of

ſeveral diſpatches paſſed between lord Carteret, ſecretary of ſtate, cardinal Dubois, and Sir Luke Schaub, Engliſh miniſters at Paris.

" Le cardinal," writes lord Carteret, in one of his diſpatches to Sir Luke, dated Jan. 1721-2, " croit qu'on pourroit accorder le titre de *l'empereur* au tzar, de maniere que les couronnes n'en fuſſent point prejudiciés."

" Le Roy [George I.] a trouvé la réponſe très ſage, que le cardinal a faite aux miniſtres du czar touchant la demande du titre *d'empereur*. Nous agirons de concert, avec ſon eminénce dans cette affaire. Et pour luy donner les éclairciſſements qu'elle ſouhaite, toûchant ce qui s'eſt paſſé entre la Grande Bretagne et le czar à l'egard du titre, je vous envoye un extrait, qui a été tiré des regiſtres de nos archives, pour luy être communiqué. Les miniſtres Moſcovites ne ſont nullement fondez en ce qu'ils alleguent que ce titre a été accordé au czar comme une partie de la ſatisfaction dans l'affaire de Matueof. Il eſt conſtant que l'on ne fit alors aucun changement à cette occaſion là.

" En examinant le ſtile, dont les roys de la Grande Bretagne ſe ſont ſervis, en ecrivant aux czars de Moſcovie, on eſt remonté juſqu'au tems de la reine Elizabeth. On trouve qu'on leur a toûjours écrit en Anglois, et que cette princeſſe,

An. 1559. Se ſervoit du ſtile *d'empereur* et de *highneſs*.

1616. Le roy Jaques I. de celuy *d'empereur* et de *majeſty*.

1633. Le roy Charles I.

1666. Le roy Charles II.

1687. Jaques II. et Guillaume III. de celuy *d'emperour* et

$16\frac{8}{9}\frac{9}{8}$. *d'imperial majeſty*.

1707. La reine Anne s'eſt ſervie du ſtile *d'emperour* et *d'imperial majeſty*, juſqu'à l'an 1707, et alors on commença à écrire *commander*, &c. et *czaric majeſty*.

1708. En 1708, le 19 Juillet et le 19 Septembre, *commander* et *imperial majeſty*; et le 9 Novembre de la même année *emperour* et *imperial majeſty*. En 1709, 1710, 1711, *emperour* et *imperial majeſty*.

En

of Peter the Great, written with his own hand; theſe papers ſufficiently ſhow the indefatigable pains,

En 1712, 1713, 1714, *emperour* et *czarean*, *czariſh*, et *imperial majeſty*, tantôt l'un, tantôt l'autre, et ſouvent *czariſh* et *imperial majeſty*, dans une même lettre.
En 1714, le 27 Septembre, le ſtile de la lettre de notification de l'avenement du roy à la Couronne, eſt, *emperour* et *your majeſty*, et dans pluſieurs autres lettres depuis ce temps la *czariſh*, ou *imperial majeſty*, et quelquefois *your majeſty* ſimplement.

Voicy le titre entier.

To the moſt high, moſt potent, and moſt illuſtrious, our moſt dear brother, the great lord czar, and great-duke, Peter Alexejewitz, of all the Greater, Leſſer, and White Ruſſia, Self-Upholder of Muſcovia, Kiovia, Ulodomiria, Novogardia, czar of Cazan, czar of Aſtrachan, czar of Siberia, lord of Plexoe, and great-duke of Smolenſko, Tueria, Ugoria, Permia, Viatkya, Bolgaria, and others, lord and great-duke of Novogardia, and of the Lower Countries of Czernegorſky, Reſanſky, Roſtoveſky, Yeroſlave, Beloorzerſky, Udorſky, Obdorſki, Condinſki, and *emperour* of all the Northern Coaſts, lord of the Lands of Iverſky, Cartilinſky, and Gruzenſky, czar of the Lands of Caberdinſky, Czereaſky, and duke of the Mountains, and of many other Dominions and Countries, Eaſt, Weſt, and North, from Father, and from Grandfather, Heir, Lord and Conqueror.

Lord Carteret, in a letter to the cardinal Dubois, writes: Le roi concoura ſans difficulté avec ſa majeſté très Chretienne à faire ce que V. Eminence jugera convenable, par rapport au *nouveau titre* que le czar demande, et un parfait concert à faire eſperer à ce prince une telle complaiſance pour ſervir à le gagner, et à nous faire tirer fruits de ſon ambition. Jan. 30, 1721-2.

And in a diſpatch to Sir Luke Schaub, he thus expreſſes himſelf: La coûtume icy a toûjours été d'écrire aux czars de Moſcovie ſur du velin enluminé peint et doré, comme on fait aux empereurs de Maroc et Fez, et à pluſieurs autres princes non-Européens leſ-

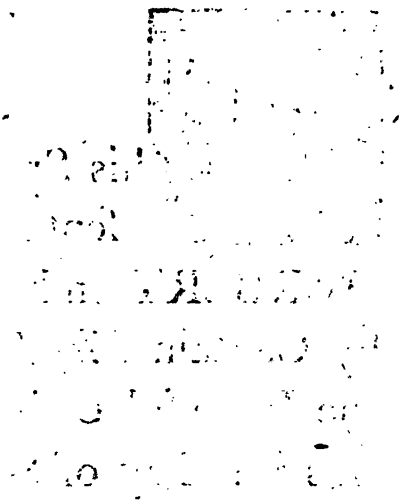
pains with which that great monarch noted down the minuteſt circumſtances, that might prove uſeful in his extenſive plans for the civilization and aggrandiſement of his country. Muller has lately given to the public ſeveral letters and other pieces of this kind, which throw a conſiderable light upon the tranſactions of Peter's reign, and afford ſtriking inſtances of his perſevering genius.

From the archives we repaired to the univerſity, alſo ſituated in the Khitaigorod: it was founded at the inſtance of count Shuvalof, by the empreſs Elizabeth, for ſix hundred ſtudents, who are clothed, boarded, and inſtructed at the expence of the crown. We were received, with great ci-

quels ſelon cette coûtume ſeroient également fondez d'inſiſter ſur le titre d'empereur. On n'a jamais voulu changer l'uſage établi, quoique les Moſcovites l'ayent fort ſolicité durant l'ambaſſade de my lord Whitworth à Moſcow. Ce miniſtre s'excuſa toûjours d'en faire la propoſition. Il leur dit, qu'il leur donneroit le titre, ſans difficulté, tel qu'il le trouvoit établi; mais qu'il ne leur conſeilloit pas de remuër cette matiere, ni de s'eclaircir trop ſoigneuſement ſur quel pied on leur donnoit ce titre. Les Moſcovites crûrent ſon avis bon pour lors. Quand my lord Whitworth et Mr. l'amiral Norris fûrent chargez d'une commiſſion auprez du czar à Amſterdam, ils n'eûrent que des lettres de cachet, dont le ſtile étoit *votre majeſté*; les miniſtres Ruſſiens en firent d'abord quelque ſcrupule, mais n'y inſiſterent pas.

Theſe extracts are drawn from Sir Luke Schaub's State Papers, in the rare and ample collection of the earl of Hardwicke, a nobleman as diſtinguiſhed for the extent, as the liberal communication of his knowledge.

vility,



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vility, by the director of the univerſity and profeſſors, who conducted us firſt to their printing-office. One of the preſſes being at work, ſeveral ſheets were ſtruck off and preſented to us as ſpecimens of the Ruſſian typography; on examining them we found a complimentary addreſs to ourſelves in the Engliſh and Ruſſian languages, of which the annexed engraving is a *fac-ſimile.*

We next proceeded to the univerſity library, which contains a ſmall collection of books, and a moderate apparatus of experimental philoſophy. On taking leave of the director, he obligingly preſented me with a Grammar of the Tartar language, which is taught in this ſociety, a Syllabus of a year's lectures, and a Catalogue of the Greek Manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod. An extract from the Syllabus* will diſplay to the reader the general ſtudies, and the principal books uſed in this univerſity for the inſtruction of the ſtudents.

1. A courſe of lectures on the Hiſtory of the Ruſſian Law, on Nettelbadianus, *Syſtema univerſæ Juriſprudentiæ,* and on the *Jus Cambiale*; eight hours a week. 2. On Cicero's Orations againſt Catiline, the ſixth book of Virgil's Eneid, plays of Plautus and Terence, inſtructions on the manner of writing Latin and Ruſſian

* It is entitled "Catalogus prælectionum publicarum in Univerſitate Cæſareâ Moſquenſi habendarum."

verſes from the examples of Horace and Lomonoſof; an expoſition of the panegyrical orations of Lomonoſof, together with tranſlations and exerciſes in Latin and Ruſſian proſe: eight hours a week. 3. On arithmetic, trigonometry, and optics, from Weidler's *Mathematicæ Inſtitutiones*; and experimental philoſophy from Kruger's Compendium. 4. On antient and modern hiſtory. 5. Introduction to the knowledge of moral philoſophy, from Bielfield's Inſtitutes. 6. On clinic medicine, or the remedies uſed by antient and modern phyſicians, from Vogel's Compendium. 7. On the pandects, from the Compendium of Heineccius, and a compariſon between the Roman and Ruſſian law: eight hours a week. Profeſſor Deſaitſky, who reads this lecture, teaches alſo the Engliſh language from a Grammar compiled by himſelf: four hours a week. 8. Logic and metaphyſics from Baumeiſter's logic, eight hours; and four geometry and trigonometry, from Weidler. 9. On phyſic under the following heads: pathology, dietetics, and therapeutics, from Ludwig's Compendium. 10. On Botany, after the ſyſtem of Linnæus. 11. Anatomy from Ludwig. 12. On the etymology, ſyntax, and ſtyle of the French tongue: eight hours. 13. Etymology, ſyntax, and ſtyle of the German.

Beſide the univerſity, there are two gymnaſia,

or ſeminaries, for the education of youth, endowed alſo by Elizabeth, in which are taught divinity, claſſics, philoſophy, the Greek, Latin, Ruſſian, German, French, Italian, and Tartar languages; hiſtory, geography, mathematics, algebra, architecture, fortification, artillery, drawing and painting, muſic, fencing, dancing, reading, and writing. There are twenty-three profeſſors: amongſt theſe, the Syllabus informed me, that Mr. Alexief teaches divinity two hours in the week. Mr. Matthæi, profeſſor and rector of both ſeminaries, explains ſome of Cicero's Orations and ſelect Epiſtles, Libanius's Letters, Erneſti's Oratorical Eſſays, *Xenophon's Anabaſis*, teaches the Roman antiquities from Burman's Compendium, and continues his uſual Latin exerciſes upon oratory. Mr. Sinkovſki, every morning from ſeven to nine, treats of the principles of rhetoric, particularly concerning the *Periodologia*, both as to theory and practice, from *Burgius's Elementa Oratoria*; explains Cæſar's Commentaries and Juſtin; employs his ſcholars in Latin and Ruſſian tranſlations, and in the etymology and ſyntax of the Greek tongue: reads Plutarch περι Τυχης; and, from nine to twelve on Mondays, Wedneſdays, and Saturdays, Ovid's Metamorphoſis, and connects mythology with antient hiſtory and geography. Mr. Tſherbotaref, extraordinary profeſſor of logic and mo-

rality, and under-librarian to the univerſity, four hours in the week, comments upon *Heineccii elementa philoſophiæ rationalis et moralis*, as well in the original Latin, as in the Ruſſian* tranſlation, for the benefit of thoſe who are unacquainted with the Latin tongue. Mr. Urbanſki gives inſtructions in rhetoric from the Compendium of Burgius, both in theory and practice. Mr. Holberſtof explains Count Teſſin's Letters to a young prince†.

The account of the Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod at Moſcow, preſented to me by the director, bore this title: "*Notitia codicum manuſcriptorum Græcorum Bibliothecarum Moſquenſium ſanctiſſimæ ſynodi Eccleſiae orthodoxae Græco-Ruſſicae, cum variis anecdotis, tabulis aeneis et indicibus locupletiſſimis. Edidit Chriſtianus Fredericus Matthaei, Gymnaſiorum Univerſitatis Moſquenſis Rector. Moſquae, typis Univerſitatis, Anno* 1776," folio. The author is Chriſtian Frederick Matthæi, a learned German, who was educated at Leipſic under the celebrated Erneſti, and had already diſplayed his erudition by ſeveral excellent editions of the claſſics. Being drawn to Moſcow by the liberality of the empreſs, he was appointed a

* Iis præcipuè, qui linguæ Latinæ ſunt ignari, nec ſua ſtudia academica in univerſitate ulteriùs proſequi poſſunt.

† The king of Sweden when prince royal.

profeſſor

profeſſor of this univerſity. Soon after his arrival, he turned his attention to the ſtate of Greek literature, and explored the curious collection of Greek manuſcripts in the library of the Holy Synod, the greater part of which had, at the ſuggeſtion of the patriarch Nicon, been collected by the monk Arſenius from the monaſtery of Mount Athos.

As a catalogue of theſe manuſcripts, publiſhed by Athanaſius Schiada, at the command of Peter the Great, was exceedingly inaccurate, Matthæi* was encouraged by Prince Potemkin, the great patron of antient literature, who defrayed the expence of the publication, to undertake this work upon a more extenſive plan. Accordingly, in 1776, the learned editor gave to the public the firſt part, in which he has laid down an accurate and circumſtantial detail of fifty-one manuſcripts, accompanied with judicious remarks and critical inquiries. He deſcribes the materials upon which each manuſcript is written; ſpecifies the age, contents, and author, the number of pages, and the firſt and laſt words: he points out alſo the different proprietors. The author propoſes to continue the publication at different intervals, until he has finiſhed the account. But as it would require many years thus

* Harris has enumerated the editions publiſhed by Matthæi. Philoſ. Inquiries, p. 564.

minutely

minutely to deſcribe all the manuſcripts, which amount to 502; the learned author has, in the mean while, favoured the public with a complete catalogue, in a leſs circumſtantial manner*. To this index is prefixed a ſatisfactory and comprehenſive introduction; in which, after informing us that he compiled it for the uſe of prince Yuſapof, an enthuſiaſt in Greek literature, he gives a brief account of the principal manuſcripts. He enumerates ſeveral of the Septuagint, and one in particular of the Books of Kings, which is of the ninth century, and contains, in ſome places, many various readings, materially differing from the printed editions. He mentions alſo ſeveral of the New Teſtament; ſome accompanied with antient commentaries, which have never been publiſhed, and which the ingenious author has tranſcribed, collated, and prepared for the preſs. The moſt antient of theſe was written at different periods; the firſt part ſo early as the ſeventh or eighth century, and the remainder in the twelfth and thirteenth. This collection, he adds, though chiefly confined to theological ſubjects, is by no means deficient in the claſſics; among which he notices Homer, Æſchylus, Sophocles, Demoſthenes, Æſchines,

* "Index codicum manuſcriptorum Graecorum Bibliothecarum Moſquenſium ſanctiſſimae Synodi eccleſiae orthodoxae Graeco-Ruſſicae: edidit Chriſtianus Fridericus Matthaei. Petropoli, typis Academiae Scientiarum, 1780," 4to.

Heſiod,

Heſiod, Pauſanias, Plutarch, and a moſt beautiful Strabo, which he has collated for the new edition of that author, preparing for the Clarendon preſs by Mr. Falkener of Oxford*.

In this library of the Holy Synod Matthæi diſcovered an antient hymn to Ceres in a manuſcript of Homer, written about the concluſion of the fourteenth century, but which he ſuppoſes a tranſcript from an antient and valuable copy: this manuſcript, beſide a fragment of the Iliad, contained the ſixteen hymns uſually attributed to Homer, in the ſame order as they are generally printed. At the end of the ſixteenth he found twelve verſes of a hymn to Bacchus, and a hymn to Ceres, which, excepting the laſt part, was entire. Matthæi, well acquainted with the delays which would attend the publication at Moſcow, ſent a copy of the hymn to the celebrated Runkenius, of the univerſity of Leyden, who gave it to the public in 1780; and twenty lines being omitted by miſtake, he put forth a ſecond edition the following year†.

* It was a conſiderable diſappointment to me, that Mr. Matthæi was abſent from Moſcow during my continuance in that city, as I ſhould have derived great information from his acquaintance. I have likewiſe to regret, that, on account of his abſence, I could not obtain a ſight of theſe manuſcripts.

† Homeri Hymnus in Cererem nunc primum editus a Davide Runkenio.

The

The learned editor has prefixed a critical diſquiſition, in which he aſſerts that the hymn is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and written, if not by Homer himſelf, yet certainly by a very diligent imitator of his ſtyle and phraſeology. Though the ſtyle and plan of this hymn appears to me (as well as to the celebrated editor) inferior to Homer, and in ſome places unworthy of him; yet this argument, depending on the taſte and feelings of the reader, will not operate on all with equal force; nor will even they who allow its inferiority to the other productions of the divine poet, be inclined to grant the concluſion, that it is not his work; becauſe Homer might in one particular compoſition fall below his uſual ſtandard of excellence. A ſtronger proof againſt its originality may be drawn from the words, phraſes, and inflexions occurring in this poem, which are either of a later date than the age of Homer, or not found in his unſuſpected works. Some of theſe are enumerated by the editor*.

* The claſſical reader, who is deſirous of further information relative to the genuineneſs of this antient poem, is referred to the laſt edition of the hymn by Runkenius, and to the preface of Mr. Hole's Tranſlation.

CHAP. 6.

Retail trade in the Khitaigorod.—Market for the ſale of houſes.—Excellence of the police in caſes of riot or fire.—Cheſs common in Ruſſia.—Account of the Foundling Hoſpital.—Excurſion to the Monaſtery of the Holy Trinity.—Delays of the poſt.—Deſcription of the monaſtery.—Tomb and hiſtory of Maria titular queen of Livonia.—Tomb and character of Boris Godunof.

MOSCOW is the centre of the inland commerce of Ruſſia, and connects the trade between Europe and Siberia.

The navigation to this city is formed ſolely by the Moſkva, which, falling into the Occa near Colomna, communicates by means of that river with the Volga*. But, as the Moſkva is only navigable in ſpring, on the melting of the ſnow, the principal merchandize is conveyed on ſledges in winter.

Almoſt the whole retail commerce of the city is carried on in the Khitaigorod, where, according to a cuſtom common in Ruſſia, as well as in moſt kingdoms of the Eaſt, the ſhops and warehouſes are collected in one ſpot. The place is like a kind of fair, conſiſting of many rows of low brick buildings; the interval between them reſembling alleys. Theſe ſhops or booths occupy

* For the communication of the Volga with the Baltic, ſee the chapter on the Inland Navigation of Ruſſia, in the next volume.

a conſiderable

a conſiderable ſpace, and do not, as with us, make part of the houſes inhabited by the tradeſmen, but are uſually detached from their dwellings, which are moſtly at ſome diſtance in another quarter of the town. The tradeſman comes to his ſhop in the morning, and returns to his family in the afternoon. Every trade has its ſeparate department; and they who ſell the ſame goods have booths adjoining to each other. Furs and ſkins form the moſt conſiderable article of commerce in Moſcow, and the ſhops vending thoſe commodities occupy ſeveral ſtreets*.

Among the curioſities of Moſcow, I muſt not omit the market for the ſale of houſes. It is held in a large open ſpace, in one of the ſuburbs, and exhibits *ready-made houſes*, ſtrewed on the ground. The purchaſer who wants a dwelling, repairs to this ſpot, mentions the number of rooms he requires, examines the different timbers, which are regularly numbered, and bargains for that which ſuits his purpoſe. The houſe is ſometimes paid for upon the ſpot, and removed by the purchaſer; or the vender contracts to tranſport and erect it upon the place where it is deſigned to ſtand. It may ſeem incredible, that a dwelling may be thus bought, removed, raiſed, and inhabited, within the ſpace of a week; but

* According to Storſch, the number of ſhops and warehouſes in Moſcow amount to 6,000, of which the Khitaigorod contains 4,075.

it

it will appear eaſily practicable by conſidering that theſe *ready-made houſes* are in general merely collections of trunks of trees, tenanted and mortaiſed at each extremity, ſo that nothing more is required than the labour of tranſporting and adjuſting them.

But this ſummary mode of building is not always peculiar to the meaner hovels; as wooden ſtructures of large dimenſions and handſome appearance are occaſionally formed in Ruſſia, with an expedition almoſt inconceivable to the inhabitants of other countries. A remarkable inſtance of this diſpatch was diſplayed during the laſt viſit of the empreſs to Moſcow. Her majeſty propoſed to reſide in the manſion of prince Galitzin, which is eſteemed the completeſt edifice in this city; but as it was not ſufficiently ſpacious for her reception, a temporary addition of wood, larger than the original houſe, and containing a magnificent ſuite of apartments, was finiſhed within the ſpace of ſix weeks. This meteor-like fabrick was ſo handſome and commodious, that the materials were afterwards taken down and re-conſtructed, upon an eminence near the city, as an imperial villa.

In Moſcow I obſerved an admirable police for preventing riots, or ſtopping the concourſe of people in caſe of fires, which are very frequent in thoſe parts where the houſes are moſtly of wood,

and

and the ſtreets laid with timber. At the entrance of each ſtreet is a *chevaux-de-frize* gate, one end turning upon a pivot, and the other rolling upon a wheel; near it is a centry-box, in which a man is occaſionally ſtationed. In times of riot or fire the centinel ſhuts the gate, and all paſſage is immediately ſtopped.

Cheſs is ſo common in Ruſſia, that during our continuance at Moſcow, I ſcarcely entered into any company where parties were not engaged in that diverſion; and, in paſſing the ſtreets, I frequently obſerved the tradeſmen and common people playing before the doors of their ſhops or houſes. The Ruſſians are eſteemed great proficients in cheſs. With them the queen has, in addition to the other moves, that of the knight, which, according to Phillidor, ſpoils the game, but which renders it more complicated, and of courſe more intereſting. The Ruſſians play alſo at cheſs with four perſons at the ſame time, two againſt two; for which purpoſe the board is longer than uſual, contains more men, and is provided with a greater number of ſquares. I was informed, that this mode is more difficult, but more agreeable, than the common manner.

Among the public inſtitutions, the moſt remarkable is the Foundling Hoſpital, endowed by the empreſs in 1764, and ſupported by voluntary contributions, legacies, and other charitable gifts.

gifts*. To encourage donations, her majeſty grants to all benefactors ſome valuable privileges, and a certain degree of rank in proportion to the extent of their liberality. The hoſpital, ſituated in an airy part of the town on a gentle aſcent near the river Moſkva, is a large quadrangular building, part of which only was finiſhed; it contained 3000 foundlings, and, when the whole is completed, will receive 8000.

The children are received at the porter's lodge, and admitted without recommendation. The rooms are lofty and large; the dormitories, which are ſeparate from the work rooms, are airy, and the beds not crowded: each foundling, even each infant, has a ſeparate bed; the bedſteads are of iron; the ſheets are changed once, and the linen three times a week. I was particularly ſtruck with the neatneſs of the rooms; even the nurſeries were uncommonly clean, and without unwholeſome ſmells. No cradles are allowed, and rocking is forbidden. The infants are not ſwaddled according to the cuſtom of the country, but looſely dreſſed.

The director obligingly favoured us with his company, and ſhewed us the foundlings at their reſpective works. On his appearance the chil-

* Beſides theſe occaſional ſupplies, the inſtitution is ſupported by a lottery, tax upon public entertainments, and cards, which are ſtamped by the Foundlings' Hoſpital.—Richer Skizze von Moſka.

dren crowded round him; ſome took hold of his arm; ſome held by his coat; others kiſſed his hand, and all expreſſed the higheſt ſatisfaction. Theſe natural and unfeigned marks of regard were convincing proofs of his mildneſs and good-nature; for children, when ill uſed, naturally crouch before thoſe who have the management of them. I could be no judge whether the children were well inſtructed, and the regulations well obſerved; but I was perfectly convinced, from their behaviour, that they were in general happy and contented, and perceived, from their looks that they were remarkably healthy; a circumſtance owing to the uncommon care which is paid to cleanlineſs both in their perſons and rooms.

The foundlings are divided into ſeparate claſſes, according to their reſpective ages. The children remain in the nurſery two years, at the end of which term they are admitted into the loweſt claſs; the boys and girls continue together until they are ſeven years of age, at which period they are ſeparated. Both ſexes are inſtructed in reading, writing, and caſting accounts. The boys are taught to knit, card hemp, flax, and wool, and to work in the different manufactories. The girls learn to knit, net, and perform all kinds of needle-work; they ſpin and weave lace, and are employed in cookery, baking, and houſe-work.

At the age of fourteen the foundlings enter into

into the firſt claſs, and have the liberty of chuſing any particular branch of trade: for which purpoſe different ſpecies of manufactures are eſtabliſhed in the hoſpital; the principal are embroidery, ſilk ſtockings, ribbands, lace, gloves, buttons, and cabinet-work. A ſeparate room is appropriated to each trade. Some are inſtructed in the French and German languages, and a few of the boys in the Latin tongue; others learn muſic, drawing, and dancing. About the age of twenty, the foundlings receive a ſum of money, and ſeveral other advantages, which enable them to follow their trade in any part of the empire: a conſiderable privilege in Ruſſia, where the peaſants are ſlaves, and cannot leave their village without the permiſſion of their maſter.

In another viſit which I paid to this hoſpital, I ſaw the foundlings at dinner: the girls and boys dine ſeparately. The dining rooms, which are upon the ground-floor, are large and vaulted, and ſeparated from their work rooms. The firſt claſs ſit at table, the reſt ſtand; the little children are attended by ſervants; but thoſe of the firſt and ſecond claſs alternately wait upon each other. The dinner conſiſted of beef and mutton boiled in broth, with rice; I taſted both, which were remarkably good: the bread was very ſweet, and baked in the houſe, chiefly by the

foundlings. Each foundling has a napkin, pewter-plate, knife, fork, and ſpoon: the napkin and table-cloth are clean three times in the week. They riſe at ſix, dine at eleven, and ſup at ſix. The little children have bread at ſeven, and at four. When employed in their neceſſary occupations, the utmoſt freedom is allowed, and they are encouraged to be as much in the air as poſſible. The whole was a lovely ſight; and the countenances of the children expreſſed the utmoſt content and happineſs.

In the hoſpital is a theatre, of which the decorations are the work of the foundlings: they conſtructed the ſtage, painted the ſcenes, and made the dreſſes. I was preſent at the repreſentation of the *Honnête Criminel*, and the comic opera, *Le Devin du Village*, both tranſlated into the Ruſſian tongue. Not underſtanding the language, I could be no judge whether they ſpoke with propriety; but was ſurprized at the eaſe with which they trod the ſtage, and pleaſed with the gracefulneſs of their action. There were ſome agreeable voices in the opera. The orcheſtra was filled with a band by no means contemptible, which conſiſted entirely of foundlings, excepting the firſt violin, who was their muſic-maſter. On this occaſion the play was not, as uſual, concluded with a ballet, becauſe the principal performer was indiſpoſed, which was no

ſmall diſappointment, as they dance ballets with great taſte and elegance. The empreſs, I am told, is induced to countenance theatrical repreſentations, which appear improper in a ſeminary of this kind, from a deſire of diffuſing among her ſubjects a taſte for that ſpecies of entertainment, which ſhe conſiders a means of civilization, and of enriching the Ruſſian theatres with a conſtant ſupply of performers.

Many and great are the advantages of this excellent charity. It diffuſes a knowledge of the arts among the people, increaſes the number of free ſubjects, and above all has conſiderably diminiſhed the horrid practice of infanticide, ſo prevalent before the inſtitution of this hoſpital.

We were unwilling to quit this part of the country without viſiting Troitſkoi Kloſter, or the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, which is diſtinguiſhed in the annals of this country as the aſylum for the Ruſſian ſovereigns in caſes of inſurrection; and is more particularly known to foreigners for the refuge it afforded to Peter the Great, when he put an end to the adminiſtration of his ſiſter Sophia*.

The diſtance from Moſcow to the monaſtery being forty miles, we ordered poſt-horſes to be ready at five in the morning, with an intention

* See Chap. VIII.

of viewing the convent, and returning by night. We hoped to complete this excurſion in the time propoſed; but obſtacles continually occur in foreign countries, unforeſeen by thoſe who are not ſufficiently acquainted with the manners of the natives; and an ignorance of the moſt trivial circumſtances, which better information might eaſily have obviated, produces conſiderable embarraſſment. Some petty diſtreſſes of this nature lengthened our expedition from one to three days.

We roſe at five in the morning, but were detained by want of poſt-horſes, which we found great difficulty in procuring, although the order was ſigned both by the governor of the province and of the city, and we importuned the poſt-maſter with repeated meſſages. The caſe is, that the price for the hire of horſes being inconſiderable, the owners can employ them in other ſervices to greater advantage; and on this account a ſtranger, unleſs accompanied with a Ruſſian ſoldier to quicken the expedition of thoſe who furniſh the poſt, muſt meet with infinite delays. We were, indeed, ſtrongly adviſed by ſome of our acquaintance to uſe this precaution, but imprudently omitted it, to our great inconvenience, as we ſoon experienced.

After waiting nine hours, we at length thought ourſelves fortunate in ſeeing the poſt-horſes make

their appearance about two in the afternoon; and ſet off with an expectation of proceeding without interruption to Bretoſſhina, where a relay was waiting for us. But the drivers ſtopping at a village only four miles from Moſcow, peremptorily refuſed to carry us any farther. In vain we produced the order for horſes; they contended that it authorized us only to take them from village to village, and on the ſtrength of that conſtruction returned without further ceremony to Moſcow. Two hours more were employed, and much broken Ruſſian ſpoken by our Bohemian interpreter, before we were able to prevail on the inhabitants to ſupply us with horſes, and were again depoſited in a village about the diſtance of three miles; where all the old proceſs of altercation, threats, and promiſes, was renewed. In this manner we continued wrangling and proceeding from village to village, which were thickly ſcattered in this part of the country, until near midnight, when we found ourſelves at Kliſma, only ſeventeen miles from Moſcow, and took up our lodging in a peaſant's cottage. Our Bohemian ſervant having fortunately devoted great part of the night in rambling to different houſes, and adjuſting the difficult negotiation for freſh horſes, we were able to depart almoſt by day-break, and had the ſtill farther ſatisfaction to paſs over the *immenſe*

ſpace of ſeven miles without either halt or delay; ſo that by eight in the morning we reached Bretofſhina, half-way between Moſcow and the convent. Here we found a Ruſſian ſerjeant, whom prince Volkonſki had obligingly ſent forwards to procure horſes, and accompany us during the remainder of our journey: the experience of the preceding day taught us the value of this military attendant.

At Bretofſhina we viewed a palace built by Alexèy Michaelovitch, in which he frequently reſided: it is a long wooden building, painted yellow, only one ſtory in height, containing a ſuite of ſmall and low rooms. This palace (if it deſerves that name) has long been uninhabited. The empreſs, pleaſed with the beauty of the ſituation, and reſpecting the favourite reſidence of Peter the Great's father, purpoſed to build a large brick palace near the ſite of the old manſion, and part of the materials were already collected for that purpoſe. On our return to the village we ordered the horſes, and were pleaſed to find our order obeyed almoſt as ſoon as iſſued: we had, indeed, a ſucceſsful agent in our friend the ſerjeant; for the peaſants, who were beginning to wrangle, and make their uſual altercations, were inſtantly diſperſed by his cudgel, whoſe eloquence was more perſuaſive than the moſt pathetic remonſtrances. The boors were certainly

certainly accuſtomed to this ſpecies of rhetoric; for they bore it patiently, and with perfect good-humour; and, the moment they were ſeated on the box, began whiſtling and ſinging their national ſongs as uſual. We now continued our route, and arrived at the convent, though diſtant from Bretofſhina twenty miles, without once ſtopping to change horſes.

Troitſkoi Sergief Kloſter, or the monaſtery of the Holy Trinity, at a little diſtance bears the appearance of a ſmall town; and, like many convents in this country, is ſurrounded with high brick walls, ſtrengthened with battlements and towers. The parapet is roofed with wood, and the walls and towers are provided with embraſures for muſkets and cannon: the whole is ſurrounded by a deep ditch. This place withſtood ſeveral ſieges; and particularly baffled all the efforts of Ladiſlaus prince of Poland, who attacked it at the head of a large army.

Beſide the convent or habitation for the monks, the walls encloſe an imperial palace, and nine large churches conſtructed by different ſovereigns. The convent is a range of building encircling a court, and far too ſpacious for the preſent inhabitants: it formerly contained 300 monks, together with a proportionate number of ſtudents, and was the richeſt eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment in Ruſſia. Their eſtates, as well as all the

the other church-lands, being annexed to the crown, the members receive penſions. With the revenues the number of monks is greatly diminiſhed, and they do not amount to 100. The habit is black, with a veil of the ſame colour; they eat no meat, and the diſcipline of the order is very ſtrict. Within the convent is a ſeminary for the education of perſons intended for the church, which contained about 200 ſtudents.

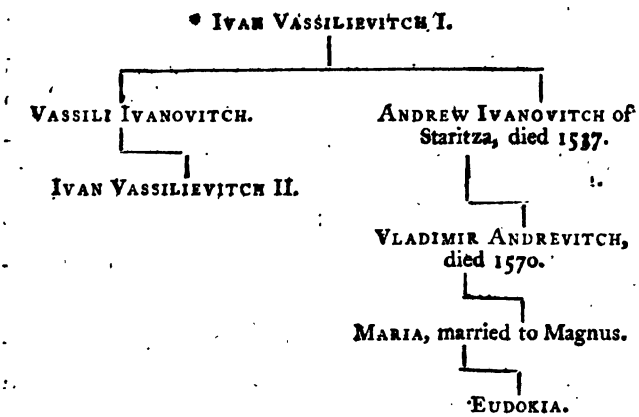
The imperial palace, which was much frequented when the ſovereign reſided at Moſcow, is ſmall; one of the apartments is ornamented with repreſentations in ſtucco of the principal actions of Peter the Great. The nine churches are ſplendid, and extremely rich in gold and ſilver ornaments, and coſtly veſtments. The principal church has a cupola of copper gilt, and four domes, of tin or iron painted green. We aſcended a new belfry, built by the empreſs Elizabeth, which is not an inelegant piece of architecture; it commands a fine view of the adjacent country, which is gently waving, richly cultivated, producing much grain, and thickly ſtrewed with villages. The archimandrite or abbot of the monaſtery being abſent, we could not obtain permiſſion to ſee the library, which occaſioned ſome regret, becauſe, according to Buſching, it contains a curious collection of books*.

* Buſching's Erd-beſchreibung, v. I. p. 852.

In

In the principal church a few tombs drew my attention.

The firſt was that of Maria queen of Livonia, probably the only perſon who ever bore that title, an empty honour, which ſhe may truly be ſaid to have purchaſed at a dear rate. Maria, lineally deſcended from Ivan Vaſſilievitch I. was a relation of Ivan II*. She eſpouſed in 1573, Magnus duke of Holſtein†, and titular king of



† Magnus was ſon of Chriſtian III. king of Denmark, and is known in hiſtory by ſeveral different appellations. He is ſometimes ſtyled king of Livonia, from his mock-ſovereignty in that country; ſometimes duke of Holſtein, from his inheriting a portion of that duchy on the deceaſe of his father; and biſhop of Æſel, from his exchanging his part of Holſtein for the biſhoprics of Æſel and Courland, which he ſecularized. Holberg, the Daniſh hiſtorian, mentions a bond for 1500 marks, which was thus ſigned: "We Magnus, by the grace of God, Lord of Æſel and Wick, Biſhop of Courland, Adminiſtrator of the biſhoprick of Reval, Heir of Norway, Duke of Schleſwick, Holſtein, Stormar, and Ditmarſh, Count of Oldenburgh and Delmenhurſt." Titles, as the hiſtorians remark, which could not procure him even a ſmall ſum of money without his bond. Holberg, v. II. p. 488.

Livonia,

Livonia, who was raiſed to that dignity by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. in an extraordinary manner. Livonia, bordering upon Ruſſia, Sweden, and Poland, and reciprocally claimed and poſſeſſed by thoſe three powers, was, in the middle of the ſixteenth century, partly free, partly ſubject to Poland, and partly to the Swedes, when the tzar made an irruption, and conquered a ſmall portion. Well acquainted, however, with the averſion of the natives to the Ruſſian ſceptre, he declared, that he entered their country with no intereſted views; had no other ambition than to reſcue them from the Swediſh yoke; and, renouncing all right of conqueſt, would only ſtyle himſelf their protector: he exhorted them to elect for their ſovereign Magnus, brother of Frederic II. king of Denmark, who, in the capacity of biſhop of Pilten, had ſome pretenſions to Livonia. This propoſal being cheerfully agreed to by a great party among the natives, the tzar diſpatched an embaſſy to Magnus, who accepted the proffered crown, and repairing without delay to Moſcow, was formally inſtalled in his new dignity, upon condition of eſpouſing Maria, and paying an annual tribute to the tzar.

Magnus, however, being oppoſed by the Swedes, who maintained a large army in Livonia, and not unanimouſly acknowledged even by

by the natives, was ſtill only a titular ſovereign, and after a fruitleſs attempt to take poſſeſſion of his crown, continued to diſplay his mock dignity at Moſcow. At length, in 1577, being eſcorted to Livonia by the tzar, at the head of 50,000 troops, he obtained the town and territory of Wenden, the remainder of the province being reſerved to Ruſſia.

Magnus was ſcarcely admitted into Wenden, where he was received with great demonſtrations of joy, than, deſpiſing a precarious ſovereignty, he was prevailed upon by his new ſubjects to form a ſecret alliance with the king of Poland, and counteract the tzar's progreſs in Livonia. Ivan, apprized of this negotiation, laid immediate ſiege to Wenden with a numerous army, and compelled the inhabitants to capitulate. Magnus himſelf carried the terms of capitulation, and, advancing to ſupplicate the incenſed monarch, threw himſelf at his feet, and interceded for the town. The tzar, ſpurning at him with his foot*, and ſtriking

* Henning, author of the Livonian Chronicle, relates this tranſaction more to the honour of Ivan. He is thus quoted by the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, vol. XXXV. p. 242. "The tzar laid ſiege to the place, till, at the earneſt requeſt of the citizens, Magnus, with only a few attendants, went into the tzar's camp, and, falling on his knees, begged pardon for himſelf and the city. Baſilowitz no ſooner ſaw the king of Livonia thus proſtrate before him, than he diſmounted from his horſe, and deſired him to riſe, returned him his ſword, and, after reproaching him with the ingratitude

ſtriking him in the face, loaded him with reproaches for his ingratitude, and ordered him to priſon, and entering the town, his troops committed every ſpecies of horror and devaſtation. Many of the principal inhabitants, retiring into the citadel, determined to defend it to the laſt extremity; but perceiving all reſiſtance fruitleſs, and expecting no quarter, they calmly aſſembled, received the ſacrament, and deſtroyed themſelves by blowing up the citadel. Thus ended the kingdom of Livonia, four years after it was erected into a ſovereignty. Magnus obtained his enlargement by paying a conſiderable ſum of money, and repaired, with his conſort Maria, to Pilten in Courland, where he died in 1583, in extreme diſtreſs*. After the death of her huſband, Maria was enticed into Ruſſia,

titude of his late conduct, freely pardoned him and the city, and aſſured them of his protection. At this inſtant a cannon-ball from the caſtle narrowly miſſed killing the tzar; which ſo incenſed him, that he mounted his horſe and rode away directly, ſwearing by St. Nicholas, that, for this freſh inſtance of perfidy, every perſon in Wenden ſhould ſuffer death. Magnus was then put under an arreſt in a farm-houſe, and obliged to ſign an obligation, by which he engaged to pay the tzar 40,000 Hungarian florins by the next Chriſtmas, as a ſatisfaction for the money taken from Polubenſki; and in caſe of failure of payment at that time, to forfeit double the ſum, and remain a priſoner at Moſcow till the whole ſhould be diſcharged." I have followed the principal hiſtorians of Sweden and Denmark, alſo Heidenſtein, and Oderborg, who ſeem to have given the moſt probable account of this event.

* Holberg, vol. II. p. 488.

and

and thrown into a nunnery with her only daughter Eudokia*. She was never releaſed from her confinement, and the time of her deceaſe is uncertain. The remains, both of the queen and her daughter, were depoſited in the convent of the Holy Trinity.

In the ſame church repoſe the aſhes of Boris Feodorovitch Godunof, who, upon the demiſe of Feodor Ivanovitch in 1597, was raiſed from a private ſtation to the throne of Ruſſia. It is a circumſtance extremely favourable to a virtuous conduct, that a ſovereign cannot commit one flagrant offence without ſuffering the imputation of many others; and that ſuppoſititious cruelties are always added to acts of real tyranny. This was the fate of Boris Godunof, who, having deſervedly acquired the deteſtation of poſterity by the perpetration of one crime, has been unjuſtly branded with infamy, even for thoſe actions which merit the higheſt applauſe.

Boris Godunof was deſcended from a Tartar anceſtor, who came into Ruſſia in 1329, and, having embraced Chriſtianity, aſſumed the name of Zachary. From Simon Godun, one of his deſcendants, the family was known by the ſurname of Godunof, and was greatly diſtinguiſhed by the elevation of the perſonage now under conſideration.

* Fletcher's State of Ruſſia, Chap. V.

Boris,

Boris, ſon of Feodor Ivanovitch, a nobleman of the Ruſſian court, was born in 1522, and in the 20th year of his age appointed, by Ivan Vaſſilievitch II. to attend his ſon prince Ivan: being ſucceſſively promoted to higher offices, and obtaining additional influence by the marriage of his ſiſter Irene with Feodor Ivanovitch, he was, upon that monarch's ſucceſſion to the throne, created privy counſellor, maſter of the horſe, and inveſted with the ſole direction of affairs.

Feodor dying without iſſue, the election fell unanimouſly upon Boris Godunof, who owed his elevation to the high opinion which all parties entertained of his capacity and wiſdom; to the influence of his ſiſter Irene, and to the artful manner with which he affected to decline, while he was moſt ambitious to poſſeſs, the crown. He deſerved his elevation by his conſummate abilities and popular manners; and, for his political and civil deportment, he is juſtly ranked among the greateſt ſtateſmen of his age.

Happy would it have been for himſelf and country, had he united moderation and humanity to theſe ſplendid qualities. His perſecution of ſeveral noble families, who ſtood in the way of his ambitious deſigns, and ſtill more the aſſaſſination

aſſaſſination * of Demetrius, brands his character with indelible infamy. But while we admit and deteſt in this inſtance the full extent of his guilt, let not our horror at this crime induce us to miſrepreſent his moſt laudable actions. Let us not aſſert, with his enemies, that to turn the attention of the people from the cataſtrophe of the prince, and to ingratiate himſelf in their favour by an act of public munificence, he purpoſely ſet fire to ſeveral parts of Moſcow, that he might rebuild them at his own expence! Nor let us, with equal abſurdity and injuſtice, accuſe him of privately inviting the khan of the Tartars to invade Ruſſia, that he might occupy the public with a foreign war, and acquire freſh glory by repelling the enemy!

We may add to the liſt of his ſuppoſititious crimes, that he poiſoned Feodor; for the tzar had long laboured under a declining ſtate of health †; and, the year before his death, requeſted a phyſician from England ‡. Even his paternal attention and unbounded generoſity towards his ſubjects during a famine, which

* This is not the proper place to inquire whether Demetrius was really aſſaſſinated, or whether he eſcaped? for the crime of Boris was the ſame, whether his orders were carried into execution, or eluded. See the next chapter.

† Fletcher ſays of Feodor, that he was inclining to a dropſy.

‡ As appears from a letter in the Ruſſian archives.

ſoon after his elevation to the throne, deſolated Moſcow, was turned into an accuſation againſt him; for it was inſinuated, that from an abſurd delicacy, he would not permit foreigners to ſupply the Ruſſians with corn, and that he joined ſeveral banditti in plundering the houſes of the rich *; calumnies ably and unanſwerably refuted by Muller. But the brighteſt ſplendour of abilities, and even the moſt upright uſe of power, will not atone for the ill means of acquiring it; and the time arrived, when Boris paid the price for the aſſaſſination of Demetrius. The death and character of Boris Godunof are thus delineated by an impartial hiſtorian †.

The party of the pretended Demetrius increaſed daily, and the Ruſſians flocked to him from all quarters. This circumſtance, joined to the inactivity of the Ruſſian army, had ſuch an effect upon Boris, that, driven to deſpair, he ſwallowed poiſon ‡. He felt the firſt effects of the poiſon at dinner, and the ſymptoms were ſo violent, that he had ſcarcely time to enter into

* This report, Mr. Muller conjectures, aroſe from his compelling the biſhops and nobles, who had a ſuperfluity of corn, to diſpoſe of it to the poor at an under price, S. R. G. V.

† Muller, S. R. G. V. p. 247.

‡ Captain Margaret ſays, that he died of an apoplexy. Etat de la Ruſſie, p. 118.

the monaſtic order before he expired. According to the Ruſſian cuſtom, he changed his name from Boris to Bogolep. His deceaſe happened on the 13th of April, or the 24th, according to the new ſtyle, 1605, after a reign of eight years and two months.

"It muſt be allowed that his death was a great loſs to Ruſſia; for if we except the unjuſtifiable means by which he raiſed himſelf to the throne, and the cruelty with which he perſecuted ſeveral illuſtrious families, particularly the houſe of Romanof, he muſt be eſteemed an excellent ſovereign. Ambition and revenge were his principal vices: on the contrary, penetration and ſagacity, affability and munificence, political knowledge, diligence in the adminiſtration of affairs, aſſiduity in introducing into Ruſſia the improvements of foreign nations, in a word, unwearied attention to promote the advantage of his country, and the welfare of his ſubjects, were conſpicuous parts of his character. We are apt to overlook the vices of a ſovereign in conſideration of his princely virtues, and in this reſpect Boris is entitled to our eſteem. When we add to theſe conſiderations the long chain of calamities which ſucceeded his death, his loſs could not but be ſenſibly felt."

His

His remains were at firſt depoſited in the Imperial ſepulchre at Moſcow; but were afterwards removed to the convent of the Holy Trinity *.

* For the Hiſtory of Boris Godunof, ſee Muller, S. R. G. Vol. V. p. 27 to 249.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

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